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ABSTRACT

This case study describes the Imaginative Educational Cooperation (IEC) Project, a program that focused on organizational development and participative decision making in two city schools. The IEC was one of nine programs chosen by the Documentation and Technical Assistance (DTA) Project as representing exemplary strategies for problem solving in urban schools. The DTA study originally intended to examine both the failure of previous IEC technical assistance efforts at Jensen Junior High School, and ongoing conflict between the office of the superintendent and Washington Elementary School. However, a decision by the central office to close the latter school in 1976, as part of a countywide desegregation plan, shifted most of the project's attention to that school. In addition to outlining aspects of the IEC organizational development plan and describing efforts to keep the elementary school open, this paper discusses four areas: (1) increasing decision making by parents; (2) improving uses of outside resources; (3) follow through to children; and (4) building collaborative school-community governance structures. Special attention is given to the role of the school principal, staff interrelationships, and contact between staff and parents. The paper also considers implications of the IEC project for building a sustained capacity for problem solving at the local school level. (GC)

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IMPLEMENTING ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
STRATEGIES AT THE LOCAL URBAN SCHOOL:
A CASE STUDY OF
THE IMAGINATIVE EDUCATIONAL COOPERATION PROJECT

Drawn from a Report Prepared by

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Edited and With a Supplementary Chapter by

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April 1978

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PROJECT OVERVIEW

The Documentation and Technical Assistance in Urban Schools Project (DTA) is an effort to learn more about how to make urban public schools work better for urban students. Toward this end, DTA combines educational research and practice within one project. DTA's mandate has three interrelated parts:

DOCUMENTATION - to study, using primarily ethnographic techniques, the ways in which selected urban schools organize themselves to solve problems. Documentation focuses upon nine sites throughout the country selected and funded by NIE to continue to engage in locally initiated improvement activities.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE - to develop in practice specific strategies which are designed to improve urban public schooling. Technical assistance strategies are based in part upon documentation of useful practices in the nine funded sites.

LINKAGE - to increase understanding, through observation of DTA's attempts to link documentation with technical assistance, of the processes through which research can be useful to practice, and practice can influence research.

This case study is a product of the documentation effort. The ideas, commitment, hard work, successes and disappointments of the people directly working within urban schools on a day-to-day basis are in a very real sense the base of DTA. This case study captures part of that experience in one of the sites. It is our hope that this description will be useful to researchers, policy planners and particularly to the people who work directly in schools in their efforts to improve the quality and validity of the educational experiences for urban students.

Thomas A. Wilson
DTA Project Director

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Robert P. Brown, Field Researcher, studied the site for two years and prepared a lengthy report on his observations and conclusions.

Arthur E. Hyde, Research Coordinator, edited Robert Brown's report, collected some supplemental data and prepared the additional chapter.

Other people who helped edit and prepare drafts include Phil Runkel, Research Coordinator, Hannah Hearn, Senior Research Analyst, Tom Wilson, Project Director, Dorothy Kahn, Editor, Esther Brown, Typist, and Linda Patrik and Midge Tatje, Proofreaders.

Most important, we want to acknowledge DTA's appreciation to the staffs of the schools and to the technical assistance team involved in the study for their cooperation which made the study possible.

PREFACE TO A SERIES OF CASE STUDIES

Produced by the
DOCUMENTATION AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE PROJECT (DTA)

In 1974 the Local Capacity for Problem Solving Group of the National Institute of Education held a national competition to identify locally initiated projects which showed promise of fundamentally improving urban schools. They were searching for projects which sought to restructure schools in such ways that the schools could successfully work on solving their problems in an ongoing fashion, rather than for the projects which sought to introduce some one shot, particular innovation. They selected nine projects which included a variety of strategies and approaches such as teacher centers, organizational consultation, and community involvement arrangements. This document is a case study of one of these nine projects.

The purpose of this preface is to briefly outline general contextual and methodological issues relating to the production of this case study. We believe that researchers usually shy away from sharing this information and the information is valuable because it answers many of the readers' questions and helps the readers to interpret and use the case study. The readers can find more details on all these issues in the DTA paper "Explorations of the Concept of Local Capacity for Problem Solving" (S. Wilson, 1977). Similarly, the site researchers address many of these issues in the methodological appendices to their case studies.

Focus of the Case Study - Charge Given to Site Researchers

In each of the nine sites there was a particular strategy that was funded by NIE. That is, certain people had written the proposal and were

involved in intervening to help improve the schools in ways that they thought would build a long term capacity for problem solving.

The site researchers were primarily responsible for documenting the playing out of that strategy. They were charged with answering these kinds of questions: How did the interveners think schools needed to be restructured? How did these interveners think they could effectively take action to facilitate this restructuring? What did they actually do? What happened as they tried to intervene? Why did it happen? What did the school people with whom they worked think about what was happening? What other characteristics of the site influenced the course of events? What was the impact of the interveners' actions? NIE had spent considerable time on selecting these promising strategies, and site researchers were expected to document them thoroughly. There was much to learn from these concrete attempts to improve schools.

We hoped, of course, that in documenting these particular strategies, the site researchers would be able to provide a more general analysis of how and why schools do and don't solve their problems, and even more fundamentally of how urban schools function. To varying degrees this more general analysis is explicitly, or implicitly, present in the case studies. The reader, however, should not expect a study of schools as total settings. Clearly, the prime focus was on documenting the particular NIE funded strategy, and often that task consumed most of the site researcher's energies. In the middle of the documentation, we began to ask questions about the wisdom of this concentration on the funded strategy and we invite readers to share our questioning as they explore the case studies.

Timing

Below we present a time line which will help the reader see how the research fit into the history of the sites, and how much time was spent in the field.

September 1974	Nine sites funded activity begins.
January 1975	DTA contractor selected for project.
April 1975	Site researchers begin studying sites and attempt historical reconstruction of events up to their entry in the field.
July 1976	Site researchers begin to write drafts of case studies documenting period of observation. They continue to document sites at reduced level.
November 1976	Site researchers return to field to observe at full effort.
June 1977	Nine site funding ends.
June 1977	Site researchers begin to write final drafts of case studies incorporating critiques of first draft and new data gathered from second period of observation.

At full effort, site researchers spent about three days a week in the field. The details of dates and amounts of time spent in the field vary from site to site. Readers are urged to consult the methodological appendices of the case studies for details.

DTA Project Context

Site researchers were not scholars pursuing independent research projects. While they were given considerable latitude to shape their own research activities, they were working on a specific government contract. The readers may find it helpful in understanding the research to be aware of this DTA project context.

This context may have influenced the research by the demands it made on site researchers' energies and by the implicit values it fostered. We have already mentioned how the contract shaped the focus. In addition to producing case studies, site researchers were needed to support other project activities including comparative cross site analysis testing of an experimental computerized data storage and retrieval system for qualitative data, and ongoing assistance to schools.

This last activity needs elaboration. Based on an analysis that many research findings do not really get used to improve schools, the DTA contract called for the innovative combination of research on efforts to improve schools with the simultaneous attempts within the same project to use that information to help other schools. Thus, site researchers were involved in activities such as responding to assistance staff questions, visiting the schools that were being assisted, and participating in seminars designed to see how their research could be useful.

The readers should realize, then, that site researchers were not able to focus their energies exclusively on the production of the case studies. Their data and analysis had to serve many other purposes. Also, the contract did not only influence time expenditure. Many people within the DTA project -- including some site researchers -- were not convinced that traditional case studies were the most powerful format for sharing research so that it helped in the improvement of schools. This emphasis on using the research thus influenced DTA staff's decisions about what the case studies should look like, and even the value some placed on the case study relative to other activities. We invite the reader to read the other DTA papers, in addition to reading the case studies, and to join us in reflection on what are the most powerful ways to use research.

Research Methodology and Theoretical Orientations

Site researchers were requested to use a grounded research process. That is, they were asked to build their generalizations on analysis that emerged from ongoing data collection and to test critically the relevance of outside theoretical concepts and frameworks against the day-to-day life of the site they were studying. Grounded research was deemed appropriate for two reasons:

1. The concept, local capacity for problem solving, is relatively new in educational change projects. DTA was exploring the meaning and usefulness of the concept. We felt it would be premature to limit the data collection relevant to this exploration by pre-specifying the concepts and research activities.
2. The nine sites project staff, the core staff of the two organizations who received the DTA contract and the site researchers represent a wide diversity of experience,* disciplinary background, and theoretical orientations. A grounded research approach would allow the flexibility necessary for each case study research effort to benefit from the theoretical orientations that would be most appropriate for understanding events at that site.

As a result the case studies vary considerably in the nature of their theoretical emphasis and indeed in the amount of explicit theorizing. Most of the case studies concentrate on description and have first level

*Robert Brown's background in experimental psychology and applied behavior change has added a unique flavor to this case study. DTA research at the nine sites was conducted usually within a framework which emphasized understanding of participant perspectives. Because of his background, Dr. Brown has emphasized the observer perspective, has relied heavily on applied behavioral psychology for an analytic perspective on what he has observed, and has made more explicit evaluative generalizations. Thus, the reader should realize that these approaches are somewhat unique to Dr. Brown's study and not necessarily typical of the DTA studies in general. DTA supported Dr. Brown to conduct this study even though his orientation was not shared by the project at large because he was competent within his chosen behavioral mode and because we were eager to explore the usefulness of a fusion of behaviorally oriented observation with qualitative research. The reader is invited to join us in reflecting on the value of such a wedding.

interpretation. In this way, they attempt to serve as a resource to readers from various disciplines and theoretical dispositions.

Concretely, site researchers used a variety of techniques to collect data. These techniques included some combination of participant observation, formal interviewing, informal interviewing, document analysis, and quantitative techniques. They observed in a variety of behavior settings. The specific details are described in each case study.

The first five chapters of this case study were drawn from a report prepared by Dr. Robert Brown. The sixth chapter was written by Dr. Arthur Hyde, who served as Dr. Brown's Research Coordinator for the last seven months of the documentation. This chapter contains supplementary materials and proceeds from a somewhat different interpretive stance from the other chapters. This slightly unorthodox presentation permits the reader to see some of the complexities of the I.E.C. project from differing vantage points.

The project described in this case study was undertaken by serious, caring people trying to improve urban schools. We are grateful to the participants for letting us learn from their experiences -- to share vicariously the joy of their accomplishments, and with them to puzzle through their difficulties. We hope the reader finds what (he) needs in entering these pages.

Stephen Wilson
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INTRODUCTION

Context of the Present Research

In the spring of 1974, the National Institute of Education (NIE) announced that it would begin an extensive research project related to one of the five program priorities determined by that agency's policy making body. This priority was how to help build educational problem-solving capacities in local schools and communities. According to NIE's program announcement, the need to set the development of a sustained capacity for local educational problem solving as one of the agency's research priorities was the result of a policy study by that organization's staff. The study, entitled Building Capacity for Renewal and Reform, concluded in part that "while there had been much 'innovative activity' in the schools, little of this activity had resulted in sustained change."

NIE invited organizations to submit proposals for projects which support the further development of organizational arrangements that will encourage and enable people in the school(s) involved to engage in an ongoing process of problem solving. The research program as conceptualized by NIE had two major facets: First, grants were to be given to selected practitioner groups; and second, an organization was to be contracted by NIE to do documentation and analyses of the funded projects. The request for proposals stipulated that the projects to be funded should be existing programs whose target schools were located in the nation's fifty largest cities, and that the target school or schools should serve students from poor families (i.e., at least fifty percent of the students in the program schools must come from low income families as determined by ESEA Title I guidelines).

Over one hundred organizations expressed preliminary interest in the national competition. Of these, nine were finally funded (See Wilson, S., 1977 for more details). The Board of Education was informed that its proposal, the "Imaginative Educational Cooperation Project", would be funded beginning July 1, 1974. The initial grant of approximately \$109,000 was for an 18-month period. The project was to be performed by the Organizational Development Department of the River City school system. As in the other projects studied by DTA, those performing the project are referred to as the Technical Assistance Group, or TAG.

The purpose of this case study is to describe the IEC project's development and implementation within its environment, and -- what is more important -- to point out what this writer has learned about the capacity for problem solving and its development from this project. This document is divided into seven parts. First, the remainder of the introduction will consider the method by which data were collected. Chapter I describes the setting in which the River City project occurred.* The description includes the school systems involved, the change agents who designed and sought to implement the IEC project, and the two target schools, Jensen Junior High School and Washington Elementary School.

The second chapter is concerned with the Imaginative Educational Cooperation project itself: the project's philosophy and goals, the key actors involved, the program that was proposed to NIE and that which was actually implemented, and an assessment of accomplishments and problems involved in the implementation of the project.

The third chapter is devoted to an overview of problem-solving themes that appeared to be particularly important to the River City site. These

*See also Chapter VI for more on the setting.

themes include: the repeated attempts by the TAG to implement changes at Jensen Junior High School; the relations between Washington Elementary School and the Central Office as a problem-solving sequence; the relations between Washington Elementary School and community people and organizations; and the role of the principal at each school in promoting collaborative problem solving.

The fourth chapter is devoted to a discussion of four themes that were chosen by the Documentation team of the DTA project for analysis at all nine sites. These "cross-site foci" include: the building of a collaborative school-community government structure; increasing decision-making by parents; improving the use of outside resources; and the impact of the IEC project on the school's clients.

Chapter V will summarize what has been learned about developing the capacity for sustained problem solving in schools and how this knowledge might be applied in other school settings.

Methodological Considerations

The strategy laid down by DTA for documenting the IEC project required the collection of qualitative data by a researcher operating primarily as a non-participant observer. Among the more specific methods utilized were behavioral observation, formal and informal interviewing to obtain data on historical and current events, collection of written artifacts, and, on two occasions, quantitative time-sampling. In some instances, photo-documentation was also used.

As was previously mentioned, documentation of the IEC project began in late May of 1975. Since the schools closed for summer vacation about two weeks after documentation was started, substantial documentation of what

occurred in the schools did not start until the fall of 1975. The summer was spent in a variety of activities including: becoming acculturated into the DTA project, reading sources on qualitative methodology, collecting demographic data, and interviewing the members of the technical assistance group for historical and general information on the IEC project. Unfortunately, the researcher also spent a great deal of time during this period floundering for direction due to the lack of a clear research structure on the part of the DTA project, and from the researcher's lack of experience with this type of research. The writer was schooled in experimental psychology with some experience in learning theory applied to education.*

Generally, it does not appear accurate to characterize the first year's research effort as a sequence of discrete phases or steps. In retrospect, however, there do appear to be several clear trends in activity over that first year. First, the range of settings in which observations were made was gradually broadened. Initially, the researcher spent most of his time observing meetings of the TAG and its involvement in the schools. Later, observations were broadened to include the principals of the schools and the Neighborhood School Board (NSB) of one school. Finally, more attention was paid to other teachers, to the classroom setting, and to the school's interaction with outside organizations and individuals.

The second clear trend was that the researcher began to focus almost exclusively on one of the two target schools. This focus was due to the fact that a great deal of activity, of interest to the DTA project, occurred at one school, and very little activity of that type occurred at the other

*See Appendix A for the author's vita.

school. Finally, as the researcher began to understand more about the site, the focus of the research began to be restricted to a relatively few clearly defined themes. As this narrowing of focus occurred, the researcher was able to make use of assistance in the collection of more structured data. The emergence of clear themes appears to have resulted from several factors: the DTA project became clearer in its formulation of the research problems, the bulk of the activity in the project appeared to occur in limited areas, and the researcher became interested in some activities but not in others.

These gradual changes in the way that the documentation of the IEC project was carried out were the result of the researcher's attempt to balance out the time that could be spent in the field against the vast amount of data that were available to be collected. There was a rule of thumb in the DTA project that site researchers should spend three days per week in the field, but this researcher estimates that he spent closer to two days per week, on the average, in the field. In some weeks, this researcher spent every day of the week in the field, but in other weeks, this researcher did not leave his home, which was used as his office.

For several reasons, the researcher spent considerable time at other work than observing in the field. First, it was necessary to transcribe and code data in a form that could be stored and sorted by computer. Second, because the DTA organization was large, diverse, and geographically separated, interactions were seldom informal and usually involved planned meetings which extended from an hour to several days. In addition to telephoning and face-to-face meetings, a large amount of time was spent in reading, reflecting on, or reacting to the written material generated by the DTA system.

One conclusion that can be drawn is that the data which were collected were often less accurate, complete, and immediate than should ideally have been the case. It also would be correct to say that many important data were not recorded. The choice of data to be collected and not to be collected was frequently not dictated by formal research criteria but by these other factors.

The researcher's entry into the project and his development of access to information was not a formal process. Entry began with the TAG and generally moved concurrently down to the schools and up into the area of the Central Office. Initial entry was made at the level of the TAG because the IEC project was designed and written at this level and because the TAG and the DTA project collaboratively selected the researcher for this site.

An attempt was made by the researcher to make the project participants aware of his role, the nature of the DTA project and its relation to the IEC project, and the non-participant role of the researcher. The latter point had to be reiterated frequently at one school. In general, the researcher had complete access to all settings, participants, and information. On only one occasion was there any question about the researcher's attending an event. This instance involved a weekly personal growth workshop attended by Washington staff members. One of about 10 participants said she would be uncomfortable if the researcher attended these sessions weekly without participating. The objection seemed reasonable, so the researcher no longer attended those meetings. Generally there was more cooperation and information made available than could be used.

The writing of this case study involved a three-stage process. An initial draft was written during the summer and the early fall of 1976.

After editing, this document was submitted to the DTA project in October 1976. From October through May of 1977 the author continued to conduct research at the River City site. The majority of the research conducted during this period was related to DTA projects other than the case study. However, some new data were collected for inclusion in the case study. During the same period of time, the first draft of the case study was reviewed critically by other members of the DTA organization, by its external consultants, and by some of the major participants in the IEC project. A final draft of the case study was prepared during July and August of 1977.

The author wishes to thank the reviewers of the first draft of the case study for their thoughtful criticisms of that document. Some of these criticisms have been incorporated into the present draft of the case study. Needless to say, this writer assumes all responsibility for any inaccuracies contained herein.

CHAPTER 1: GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF
THE RIVER CITY SITE

The IEC project involved entities at three different organizational levels. First, there was the school system in which the project was embedded. When the project was proposed to NIE, it was part of the River City school system. Later, due to merger and court ordered desegregation, the project became part of the Jackson County school system. Within the school system, two schools were the target of the change efforts. The proposal was designed and written by members of the Department of Organizational Development of the River City school system, who were also to act as the change agents -- in DTA parlance, the TAG. Characteristics of these four major subsystems (school system, two schools, and TAG) play an important part in the degree of success of that project and in the problems which limited that success.

The River City and Jackson County School Systems

Prior to April 1, 1975, there were two major school systems within the geographical boundaries of Jackson County. One system, coincidental with the boundaries of River City, was controlled by the River City Board of Education. That system was surrounded by a school system controlled by the Jackson County Board of Education, which had jurisdiction over the rest of Jackson County except the city of Plymouth, which had a separate school system. These two systems differed to a great extent in terms of their major demographic characteristics, their organizational structures, and their management styles.

In July 1974, according to the principal investigator of the IEC project, Dr. Charity Williams, the River City system had a student

population of about 40,000 children. Of this student population, approximately 55 percent of the students were Black and 45 percent were white. Well over 40 percent of the children came from families that would be considered very poor by the guidelines of ESEA Title I.

The Jackson County system, on the other hand, was larger and more affluent than the city system it surrounded. The county system had a student population of 95,000 students. Ninety-six percent of the students were white, and only four percent were Black. The percentage of children coming from families with incomes below the ESEA Title I poverty criteria was quite small.

The two systems had been facing different kinds of problems. Over the past 20 years, the county system had faced rapid growth as a result of the general population shift (primarily white) from the central city to the surrounding cities and suburban areas. Thus, the once rural school system was faced with the problems of expanding facilities, operations and programs, budgeting, and personnel to meet the needs of a growing population. During the same period of time, the River City system was faced with the opposite problems of declining student enrollment and a more rapidly declining tax base. In the city system, the student population declined from 49,385 students during the 1970-1971 school year to 40,577 students during the 1974-1975 school year.

Studies of the administration of the Jackson County school system and of the River City school system were conducted by the River City Chamber of Commerce in 1974. The studies pointed out differences between the two systems with respect to organizational structure, management styles, and organizational problems.

The Jackson County school system, according to the Chamber of Commerce study, was an organization which had shown a high degree of stability under the firm leadership of Superintendent Edward DeQuincy who had held that position for more than 20 years. The organizational structure was characterized as a "tall pyramidal line and staff organization with the Superintendent at the apex" (River City Chamber of Commerce, 1974a). Under the Superintendent were five administrative layers: Associate Superintendents (5), Assistant Superintendents (9), Supervisors (30), Coordinators and Directors (24), Principals (97). On the basis of observation, structured interviews, and questionnaires, the study concluded that the line and staff responsibilities appeared to be understood by all members of the organization's administration, and these channels were carefully followed in organizational matters. The study suggested that improvements were needed in the following areas: the decision-making base should be broadened, horizontal communications should be facilitated, and higher level administrators should spend more time in local school buildings. Two further suggestions were: (1) that the system should give greater recognition of good work, and (2) that long range planning, particularly in personnel areas, should be improved to maintain stability in the face of the loss of significant personnel due to retirement.

A study by the same organization characterized the River City school system as a "system in transition, with the pace of change viewed as traumatic by some" (River City Chamber of Commerce, 1974b). The administration of Superintendent Harold Baldwin had attempted to decentralize decision-making in the system on a major scale. The decentralization had led to the development of a much flatter organizational structure than was the case in the county. The structure consisted of the following four

layers, in descending order beneath the Superintendent: Chairman of School Operations (1), Department Chairmen (9), Division Directors (31, or about four divisions per department), and Principals (no number given). In theory, at least, decisions were frequently made by these members jointly as the Administrative Council. There also was an attempt to use temporary problem-solving structures based upon expertise rather than upon position.

The decentralization effort was designed to make the local school an important locus of decision-making within the school system. Neighborhood School Boards were to be established at each school building to involve community members and parents, as well as staff members, in the decision-making effort. The study by the Chamber of Commerce questions the extent to which decentralization was implemented, pointing out that the "mini-boards [NSBs] had no legal status, were not established at all schools, and that the Chairman of School Operations was routinely identified as the decision maker in policy questions." The study's conclusion is supported by the fact that few NSBs fought to maintain power after their merger, and only one of them is currently persisting in that effort.

On the basis of their data, the authors of the Chamber of Commerce study made five major suggestions for improvement of the system's management. It was suggested that the rate of change needed to be curtailed so that attention could be given to the development of organizational stability. Long range planning, it was pointed out, should be done to cope with problems of possibly declining federal funding of programs and to plan long term goals and objectives. A serious problem of morale among lower level administrators was noted, and it was suggested that attention be given to recognition and job satisfaction. There was a need for role redefinition

and decision-point clarification. Finally, specific policies should be developed and implemented if decentralization was truly to be a system goal.

Yet another study points to differences between the two systems in terms of their staff characteristics. A staff writer for the River City Times, collected biographical data on the 12 former city members and 22 former county members of the newly merged administration (McMahon, 1975). McMahon reported that the administrators from the county system had more years of service with their school system, were older, were less frequently Black, less frequently held doctorates, and less frequently had obtained degrees from out-of-state institutions than did their city counterparts.

Thus, the Jackson County and River City systems were quite different organizations. They differed in the size, ethnic and economic characteristics of their student populations; their organizational structures and management styles; the kinds of task and management problems they were facing; and major administrative staff characteristics. Presumably they both shared a commitment to providing the best education possible to their clientele.

On April 1, 1975 the River City and Jackson County systems were merged into a single county-wide system bearing the name of the County system; namely, the Jackson County Public Schools. The merger was the result of a court order requiring that both systems be desegregated with all deliberate speed. The decision by a Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals reversed an earlier decision by U. S. District Court Judge Peter Armstrong, sitting in River City. Judge Armstrong had ruled against a plaintiff group, composed of the local NAACP chapter and others, finding that no vestiges of official desegregation existed in either system.

When the Circuit Court's decision had been rendered, the River City Board of Education asked to merge with the county system under provisions of the state's legal code. The Jackson County Board of Education opposed the merger but to no avail. According to Dr. Charity Williams the move for merger was made by the city system in an effort to stem the projected flight of white parents to the county if each system was independently desegregated (Jackson County Public Schools, 1975). Newspaper and television coverage at that time also indicated that the River City Board of Education's economic position was such that it would be unable to support the added costs of desegregation on its own.

At the time of merger, most people with whom this writer talked predicted that the newly merged system would be given some time to work out its problems prior to the implementation of the desegregation order. The consensus appeared to be that the desegregation order would be implemented at the start of the 1976-1977 school year in September 1976. However, Federal Court Judge Armstrong ordered that such a plan be developed and implemented by September 1975.

To make matters more difficult, the superintendents of both systems announced that they would leave their positions at the end of the 1974-1975 school year. Both announcements were made in the late fall of 1974. County Superintendent DeQuincy retired at the end of the school year, and Dr. Harold Baldwin left the city school system to become a superintendent in another state prior to the end of the same school year. After merger, Mr. James Whitehall, who had replaced DeQuincy as superintendent of the Jackson County Schools, became the superintendent of the new system.

Thus, when school started in Jackson County in the fall of 1975, there was a new superintendent of a newly and involuntarily merged school system.

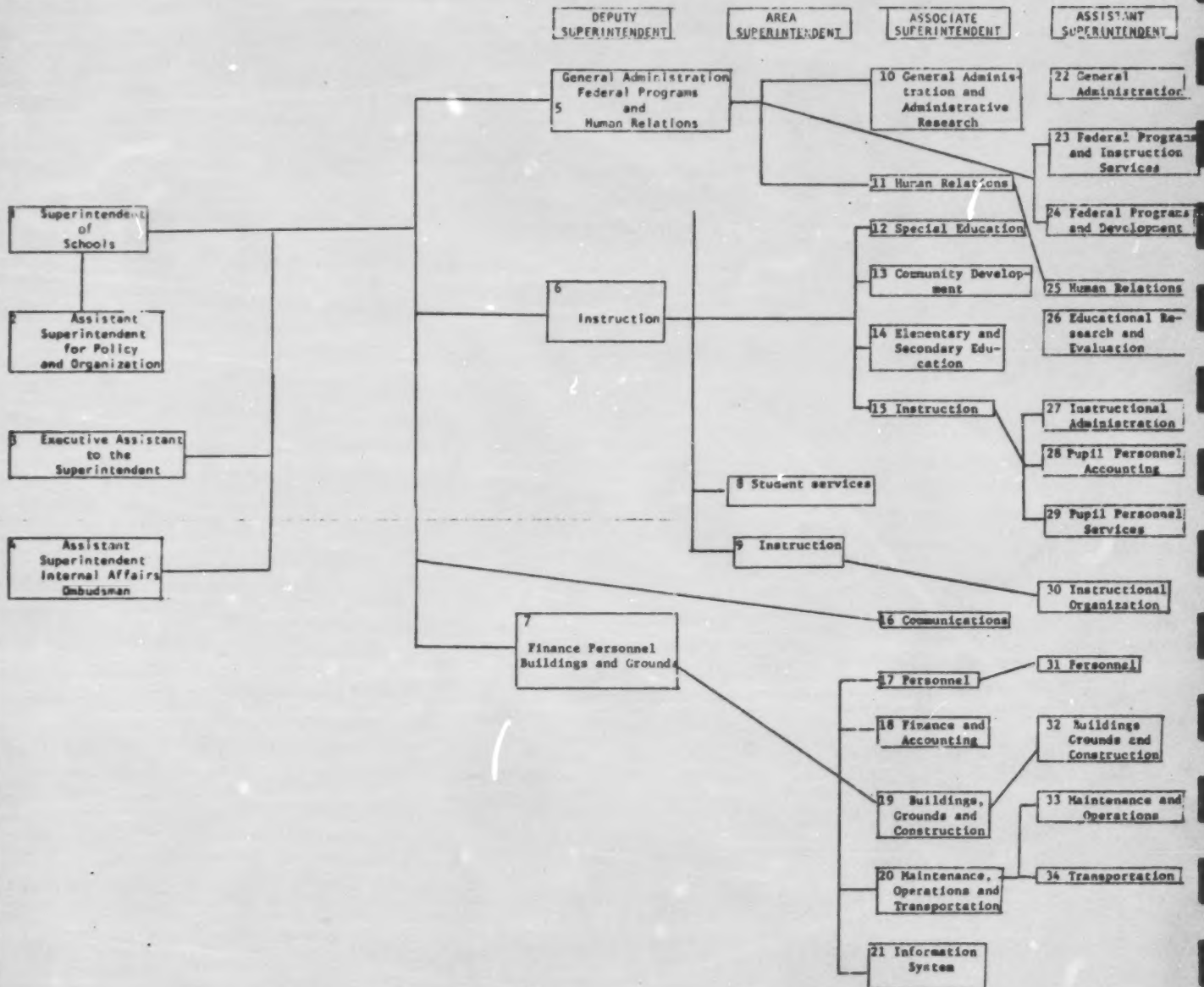
The new system, under the Court's direction and approval, was required to develop and implement what was, according to Dr. Charity Williams, the most extensive metropolitan busing program in the entire country. The desegregation plan required the balanced redistribution of both students and local school staff members. Additionally, the newly merged system had to contend with demonstrations, school boycotts, and vandalism from white parents living primarily in the south and southeastern sections of the county, precipitated by what was described as the "forced busing" of students.

The organizational structure of the newly merged system, as published in the River City Times, is shown in Figure 1. The administrative structure contains 28 superintendent level subordinate administrators (deputy, area, associate, and assistant) in addition to the Superintendent of Schools and his Executive Assistant.

By the end of the 1975-1976 school year, because of increased costs due to the implementation of the desegregation plan combined with the loss of state funds due to the school boycott, Superintendent Whitehall projected a nine million dollar deficit. The deficit resulted in the failure to renew the contracts of about 300 first year teachers. There was a threat to fire about 700 persons, primarily teachers, counselors, and elementary school librarians, unless funding can be increased through taxation. A loss of jobs beyond the 700 mentioned above appeared likely during the summer of 1976 but did not occur. In addition to economic costs, there have been widespread social costs and organization inefficiencies this year. This researcher has observed, and the local news media have reported, frustrations, tensions, and frictions from the level of the newly merged Jackson County Board of Education down to the local school level.

FIGURE 1: ORGANIZATION CHART FOR JACKSON COUNTY
SCHOOL SYSTEM AFTER THE MERGER (RIVER CITY TERMS)

WHO'S WHO IN THE SCHOOL SYSTEM



The Helping Agency

The IEC project was written and implemented by members of the Organizational Development Department of the River City Public Schools. Thus, the project was based upon a technical assistance group that was internal rather than external to the system in which the target schools were embedded. The OD Department was started in 1969 as a part of the Focus-Impact program implemented by Dr. Harold Baldwin shortly after he became superintendent. The title "Focus-Impact" was the name given to Dr. Baldwin's attempt to humanize and decentralize the school system in an effort to solve educational problems typical of large urban educational settings. The purpose of the OD Department was to facilitate the humanizing process by providing "personal growth" and "communications" training to the system's staff. Dr. Ned Winter, currently the principal of one of the target schools, was the original chairman of the OD Department. The OD Department was, as it is now, small; during the 1970-1971 school year, there were three professional and two clerical staff members in addition to Dr. Winter.

The OD Department was disbanded at the end of the 1971-1972 school year, and there was no single department responsible for this activity during the 1972-1973 school year. According to Dr. Williams, the department was disbanded because it was believed by Superintendent Baldwin that the norms and skills of OD had been sufficiently developed throughout the system so that the process would be incorporated into the routine activities of other departments. However, according to Ned Winter, the department was disbanded because he had made too many enemies to be effective as a change agent. The OD Department was reactivated, however, in the fall of 1973. Dr. Williams stated two major reasons for the reactivation: first, during

the past year, the OD function had not been internalized by other departments as had been anticipated; second, Dr. Baldwin and Paul Lennon (TAG member) had reconceptualized OD as broader than personal growth and communications training. When the department was reestablished, Superintendent Baldwin promoted Paul Lennon to the chairmanship of the department and Dr. Charity Williams became an OD consultant. Dr. Williams had been employed by the school system in a different capacity prior to joining the OD Department.

The reestablished department was designed to contain a small nucleus of professional consultants whose role was to identify organizational problems and to identify the skills necessary to resolve those problems; then to bring the problems and the problem-solving skills together. The chairman of the OD Department reported directly to Superintendent Baldwin. A third person, Will Boseman, was hired in September 1974 to work on the NIE-funded IEC project exclusively.

Beginning in the fall of 1973, the purposes of the OD Department were consultative. The overall purpose of the department was to improve the problem-solving capacity of the school system and to make the problem-solving process more collaborative. According to Dr. Williams, the goals were to be accomplished by the use of temporary problem-solving structures based on expertise rather than roles, the development of accurate and efficient horizontal and vertical communication systems, the surfacing and management of conflict between individuals and groups, and by setting goals and priorities by rational methods.

Prior to the receipt of NIE funds, Paul Lennon and Charity Williams attempted to achieve their goals by working with various Central Office subgroups and school principals. No consulting was done at the local school building level, but the consultants said that working at this level was

their ultimate goal. Some of the groups routinely assisted by the OD consultants were: three groups of principals (elementary, junior high, senior high), the Department Chairmen's group, the Superintendent's Administrative Council (principals, superintendents at all levels, and school board members), and the River City Board of Education. In addition, the OD consultants would work with any other department that requested their assistance. At various times, their assistance was requested by the Departments of Instruction, Student Personnel, and Human Relations.

Although Dr. Williams was not a member of the OD Department during its first two years, she attempted to summarize the successes and failures of the department at this writer's request. She said that the assessment was based upon her own observations and upon conversations with former department members and recipients of the department's services. Dr. Williams mentioned three major program successes: OD terminology and processes were institutionalized and routinely used by Central Office groups; decision-making was distributed to more people (e.g., teachers and principals could choose school assignments); and there was an increase in communication between role groups. The major failures occurred during the first two years of the OD Department's operation, according to Dr. Williams. She felt that the primary problem was that the amount of skill training required to decentralize the system and the amount of internal resistance to change were underestimated. She also pointed out that despite a strong effort to involve the community in the decision-making process, the level of community participation was lower than hoped for.

As the time for merger and desegregation grew closer, a task force called the "deseg team" was set up by the River City school system. The purpose of the task force was to plan for and to facilitate these two events. Both Lennon and Williams were members of the "deseg team."

At first the members of the OD Department served in their consultant roles, but gradually they became more and more actively involved as problem solvers themselves. As the change in roles occurred, there was less time available to devote to developing and supporting organizational development in the school system.

During merger, the Organizational Development Department was abolished, and no provision was made for its function in the new Jackson County system. In fact, the consultants said they were told by high-ranking former county administrators that they (the administrators) did not know what the term "organizational development" meant. After merger, therefore, members of the Technical Assistance Group could no longer be said to be functioning as internal change agents. The individual members of the former OD Department began to negotiate entry into the newly merged school system for themselves and for their point of view. Dr. Williams and Lennon reported that they were taking a passive role, relying on higher level former "City" administrators who were familiar with their work to negotiate for them.

Both Williams and Lennon were assigned non-OD functions for that one-half of their time not devoted to the IEC project. Lennon was given the title of Assistant Superintendent for Instructional Organization. His duties included preparing briefings for school board members, preparing reports on school closings, and serving as a trouble shooter in instructional matters. Williams was given responsibilities for the education of newly arrived Vietnamese children.

During the 1975-1976 school year, it became clear that Lennon and Williams were becoming increasingly dissatisfied with their positions in the Jackson County public schools and that they were searching for other positions. Both were publicly critical of the system. Dr. Williams lost

the opportunity for a position coordinating the desegregation program, according to her, because of her affiliation with the "City" school system. By the end of the school year, both people had found and, had departed for, new employment. Both went to join high-ranking members of the former River City school system who had departed the previous year. On July 1, 1976, Paul Lennon went to a position as head of the Organizational Development Department of the school system where Dr. Harold Baldwin had become superintendent. On May 1, 1976, Dr. Charity Williams joined the National Assessment in Education program, joining Dr. Fred Fine who had been Chairman of the Department of Research, Evaluation, and Development in the River City system. Will Boseman remained as the head of the IEC project with the approval of NIE and the Jackson County schools.

After Paul Lennon and Charity Williams departed from River City, an attempt was made to add a new full-time TAG member, who would have worked exclusively at Jensen Junior High School. However, the new position was never filled, and Jensen Junior High School was dropped from the IEC project during the summer of 1976. Will Boseman worked exclusively at Washington Elementary School during the 1976-1977 school year. Two somewhat different accounts have been given regarding the dropping of Jensen Junior High School from the IEC project. According to Boseman, the Deputy Superintendent for Instruction would not approve the hiring of another TAG member, and Jensen was dropped from the project because there was only one full-time TAG member. However, Paula Scott, who was to have become the new TAG member, tells a different story. According to Mrs. Scott, although the Deputy Superintendent for Instruction initially refused to approve the hiring of a new TAG member, he later relented and approved the hiring of Mrs. Scott. Mrs. Scott asserts that Boseman decided not to hire a new TAG member and to drop Jensen Junior High School from the IEC project.

The IEC Project Target Schools and Their Communities

Two schools were chosen by Dr. Williams and Paul Lennon as target schools in which to implement their IEC project. These two schools were selected from a much larger group of schools which met the NIE guidelines. There are three principal reasons for the selection of these particular schools. First, both principals were known to be familiar with the OD strategy, and the TAG believed that they would welcome and support the project. Second, the two schools were chosen because they were quite different from each other in ways that will become clearer later in this study. Third, it appeared that the two schools would not be radically affected by the impending desegregation order. It will be seen, however, that merger and desegregation had their effect on the two schools.

This section describes the two target schools and their communities. Ideally, it would be possible to use demographic data to capture the characteristics at different times. In River City, merger and desegregation were important events, and the schools need to be described before and after these events. However, because of the difference in time at which different types of data on the two schools were made available for the same year, and because two different school systems with different research interests and methodologies were involved, the statistical basis of this section is less than perfect.

Washington Elementary School

Located about 10 minutes northwest of the system's downtown Central Office, Washington is situated at about the center of a relatively small district. In the fall of 1975, this school was exempted from the

county-wide busing program when the required racial balance (80 percent white and 20 percent black) was obtained by modifying the school's boundaries. The physical plant was built in three stages. The oldest part served as a hospital during the Civil War; the newest section was built about 20 years ago. The school usually has many broken windows and other signs of disrepair.

The physical condition and safety of the building are points of controversy, and the school has nearly been closed several times during past years, at least in part for those reasons. The Central Office and the City Fire Marshal's office agree that the school should receive extensive renovation, which is possible, because engineers recently said that the building is structurally sound.

The staff, students, and parents can often be seen wearing T-shirts or buttons saying "Washington is Different"; and Washington is indeed different. Although the regular working hours are from 9:00 AM to 3:30 PM, staff members frequently work before and after school, on weekends, and during the summer. During this unpaid time, staff members can be found attending various meetings, socializing, or participating in personal growth experiences (sensitivity and "gestalt" groups, meditation, etc.). Several staff members do not involve themselves outside of regular school hours. They are in turn seen by other school staff as poorer teachers.

Community involvement is very high, with many parents working on a paid or a voluntary basis during the day. The Neighborhood School Board appears to be very powerful and is very active. Parents have been involved in hiring and evaluating professional staff members. During the 1975-1976 school year, a group of Washington staff members routinely contributed part of their salaries to pay parent volunteers who were not otherwise funded.

The importance of community participation at this school is seen in the fact that the school calls itself "Washington Community School" rather than "Washington Elementary School", and the Neighborhood School Board is legally incorporated as the "Washington Community School Inc.". Numerous funding proposals have been written and several have been funded to increase the community's involvement in the school and to extend the school's involvement in the community.

Another different, and controversial, aspect of Washington is the educational program, which is based upon humanistic philosophy, openness, and the creation of a congenial atmosphere for students. Most staff members and highly involved parents, as well as some outsiders such as an eminent humanistic psychologist, find the program positive and innovative. Still other parents, and Central Office personnel, are disturbed over the lack of student and staff discipline as well as the nature of basic-skills training the children receive. The school's educational program and its high level of community involvement reflect the values and philosophy of the principal, Dr. Ned Winter.

The school's building is located on the eastern edge of an identifiable community named Fishtown. There is frequent controversy over whether the school is or is not a part of that community. The school's attendance boundaries are neither within nor coincidental with any identifiable community. The racial balance of the population within the school's boundaries is approximately 80 percent white and 20 percent Black. However, the area in the eastern and southern parts of the district is relatively more Black than is the district as a whole, and in the northern portion of the attendance area, there are relatively fewer Blacks.

Employment data from the 1970 census indicate that the majority of the employed residents over 16 years of age were employed in service occupations and in skilled and semi-skilled trades. The residents of the area were not likely to be employed in professional, technical, administrative positions, and as private household workers. According to a River City Courier Journal staff writer, approximately 60 percent of the people in the Fishtown area were unemployed in 1976 (River City Courier Journal, August 12, 1976).

The business and housing patterns within the Washington area are mixed. Starting in the northwestern part of the district, one finds many homes and small businesses which serve the residents. In the more central area, the housing density decreases, and there is more space devoted to manufacturing and warehousing. The southeastern part of the district extends into the central business district of the city, where there are few single-family dwellings, some public housing projects, and many retail stores that serve the city as a whole. Within the district, the number of vacant lots and burned-out homes has been increasing over the past several years. However, it is not unusual to find well maintained properties with beautiful gardens.

The Fishtown area, of which Washington considers itself a part, is a politically and socially active area. Among the more active political and social groups, there are: the Boys Club, Neighborhood House (a community center), the Fishtown Bridge Mission, Fishtown Development Organization, Fishtown Area Council, and the Fishtown Democratic Club. The Fishtown Development Organization publishes a monthly paper called the Fishtown Anchor. The community's reception of the Washington staff and program has been mixed but appears to be improving. Washington staff has been seen sometimes as a group of outsiders, even Communists. Increasingly, Washington is attempting to maintain communications and to work collaboratively with other area groups.

During the 1974-1975 school year, Washington had students in kindergarten through the seventh grade in addition to Head Start and Special Education programs. During the 1975-1976 school year, Washington lost its seventh grade, which few elementary schools had, to Western Junior High School, for which Washington is a feeder school. During the 1976-1977 school year, Washington lost its sixth grade, as the Jackson County school system completed the transition from Junior High Schools (7th, 8th, and 9th grades) to Middle Schools (6th, 7th, and 8th grades). Despite the loss of the seventh grade students and the redrawing of the school's boundaries, the size of Washington's student population has remained rather stable over the past two years. During the 1974-1975 school year, there were 583 students in grades K-7, and 19.21 percent of these students were Black. During the 1975-1976 school year, 576 students were enrolled in K-6 grades, and 20.31 percent were Black. During the 1974-1975 school year, over 60 percent of the students came from families with incomes below the poverty guidelines of ESEA Title I. During the same year, the student turnover rate (44%) was somewhat higher than the rate for the system as a whole (32%).

The latest standardized testing data available to this writer were from the 1974-1975 school year. Achievement testing data (California Achievement Test) indicate that students were scoring about 0.2 grade equivalents lower at each grade level in 1974 than in 1972 on the mathematics and reading subtests of these tests. In 1974, sixth-grade children were performing 1.7 grade equivalence points behind the national norms in reading and were performing at about 1.5 grade equivalence points lower in mathematics. During those years, Washington ranked at or near the bottom of River City elementary schools in achievement test performance. Ned Winter has recently said that these trends were beginning to reverse themselves

during the 1975-1976 school year, particularly at the second and third grade levels. Washington's staff members do not place much emphasis on achievement test results; however, little effort has been made to evaluate objectively the children's progress along humanistic dimensions so important to the Washington philosophy.

Students are grouped heterogeneously and vertically. While there are children considered to require Special Education services, and several teachers are Special Education teachers, there are no student tracking or Special Education classrooms as a matter of philosophy. Individualization of instruction is a primary value at the school, and individualization appears to occur in the Title I reading and mathematics programs and through special referrals to the resource teachers. Normal classroom settings vary a great deal in the amount of individualized contact and instruction. Very few teachers use formal methods for assessing and recording student progress, and many teachers tend to rely on memory of their students' performance. There is extensive use of the arts, special projects, and outside trips as instructional media.

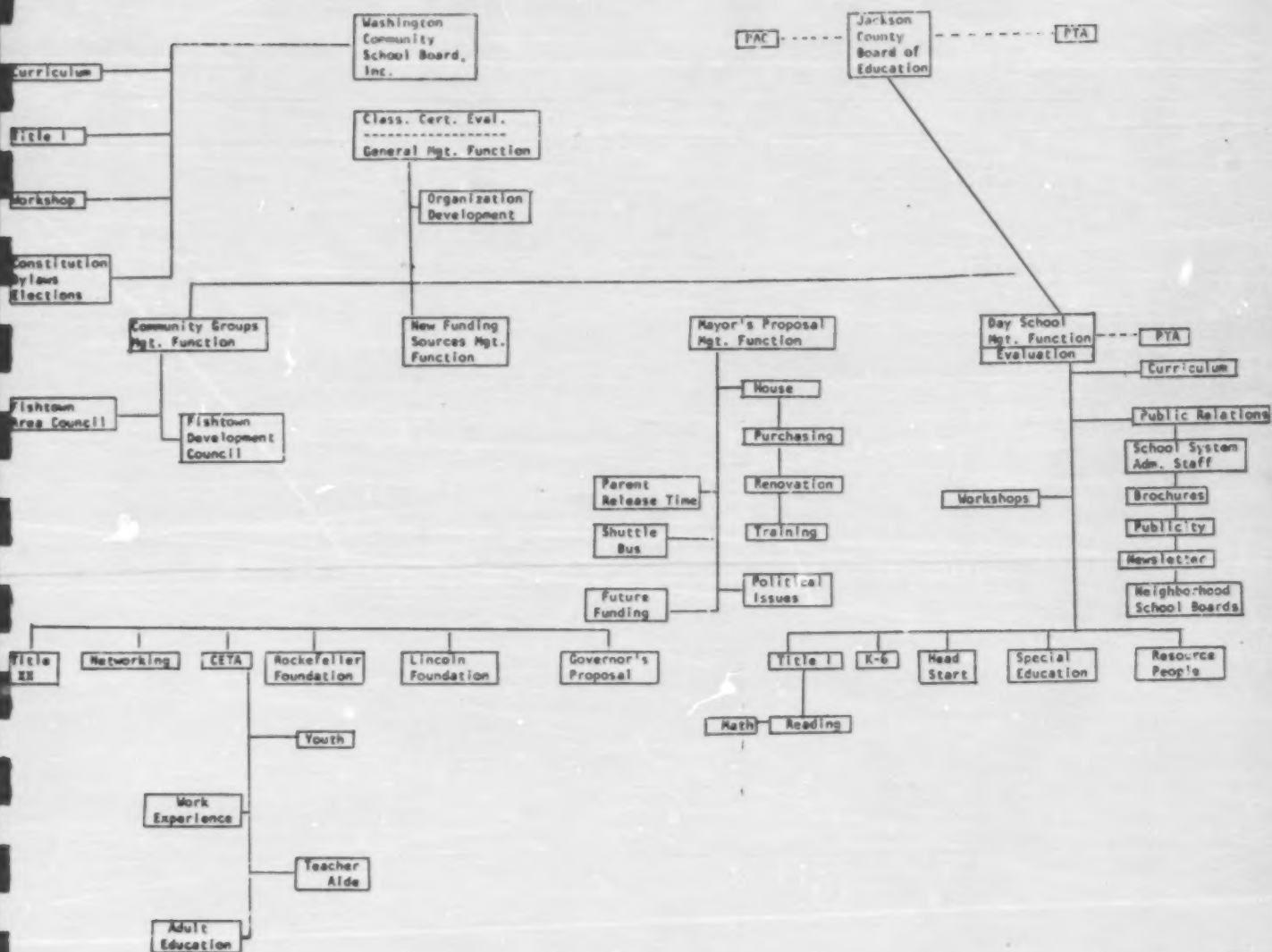
Compared to other elementary school staffs in River City, the Washington staff is unusual in three respects in addition to their level of participation in school activities: 1) There is a relatively high percentage of male staff members, 24 of 61 staff members (40%), 2) they are, on the average, relatively young, and 3) most were recruited into education as Teacher Corps interns. Until merger, Washington's teachers were screened and selected by the Neighborhood School Board. This process did not happen during the past (1975-1976 and 1976-1977) school years, because the Neighborhood School Board had no formal status, and because of the nature of the desegregation order.

It is difficult to specify the formal organizational structure of Washington School, because organizational charts are not drawn and because the school and the Jackson County Board of Education would disagree. Washington typifies the management of the old city school system as discussed earlier in this chapter, but it now must exist in a system with a very different management style. From the standpoint of the Jackson County school system, Neighborhood School Boards have neither status nor power; whatever authority and responsibility are delegated to the local school are delegated to the principal. From Washington's viewpoint, the school is a community school, with a legally incorporated Board of Directors, and only a small part of its program is under the control of the Jackson County school system. Decisions are made by the Neighborhood School Board (NSB) with the assistance of a set of special task forces which generate information and proposals. A functional organization chart of the Washington program is shown in Figure II. Legally, the county system is probably correct in its position; however, Washington's interpretation more accurately represents what occurs there.

Jensen Junior High School

Jensen Junior High School is located about 10 minutes east of the school system's downtown central office. Like Washington, this school was exempted from the busing pattern when appropriate racial balance was obtained by modifying the school's attendance area boundaries. In the fall of 1976, after the school was dropped from the IEC project, Jensen became a Middle School, with sixth, seventh, and eighth grade students, rather than a Junior High School serving seventh, eighth, and ninth grade students, as it had been in the past. In April 1977, the Jackson County Board of Education

FIGURE 11: FUNCTIONAL ORGANIZATIONAL CHART OF
WASHINGTON ELEMENTARY SCHOOL AND WASHINGTON COMMUNITY SCHOOL BOARD, INC.



voted to make still another change in the educational program at Jensen. In the fall of 1977 that school is to become the system's alternative school for students with disciplinary problems. This section of the case study describes Jensen prior to the time that it was dropped from the IEC project and while the school was still a Junior High School.

The physical plant is about 50 years old, and during earlier years contained a high school. The facility is conventionally painted and well maintained. Students' work is frequently posted in the halls. There is no writing on the walls, and seldom is there paper on the floor. Staff hall monitors are present to keep the building in good order.

The staff seldom meets or engages in other group activities after school hours. Special efforts have been made, during the past two years, to provide interesting student activities, and these activities, combined with a campaign to improve school spirit, appear to have improved the school's climate and student response to the school. The staff is a mixed group, some of whom requested transfers from Focus-Impact schools with innovative programs. Others came with or at the urging of then Principal, Harry Miller, who had previously been principal at one of the Focus-Impact schools. Principal Miller had considerable interest in the promise of OD strategies for the school's improvement. During the 1975-1976 school year, teachers belonging to neither faction mentioned above were assigned to Jensen by the County School Board.

At the end of the 1974-1975 school year, Harry Miller left the River City school system. The vice-principal, who was being supported by many staff members for promotion to principal, was transferred to another school. Sara Johnson, the current principal, came from one of the former city schools where she had served as vice-principal, and the current vice-principal had served with the county system.

Although all schools in the River City system were supposed to restructure their management under the leadership of a Neighborhood School Board, Jensen was one of many schools that made no significant progress in that direction. Although there has been a PTA at Jensen, it has not been large or well attended. Only a few parents work in the school as para-professionals. There are numerous reasons that may account for the lack of parental involvement at Jensen. One of the primary reasons, according to Harry Miller, was that he and his staff neither actively sought nor encouraged parental involvement. The new principal has espoused more interest in encouraging parents' participation in the school. Second, until the fall of 1975, most of the academically superior students transferred to Jensen, under the open transfer policy, from western River City. The parents of these students, who would appear to be likely to participate in the school's activities, were hampered by economic and transportation problems. Also, Jensen has a very large attendance area which is served by five elementary "feeder" schools. These elementary schools vary from poor, black, inner-city schools to primarily white schools in the mid-city's more affluent neighborhoods. Many of the parents from the more affluent areas, who might be expected to desire participation, sent their children to the more desirable county schools. It has been said that the white population living near the school would have nothing to do with Jensen because of racial prejudice and would not send their children there if they could find alternatives.

What has just been said indicates that it is difficult to equate the Jensen attendance area with an identifiable community. This observation is further supported by racial and occupational data. Prior to redistricting in 1975, eleven census tracts were located within the Jensen boundaries.

According to 1970 census data, nine of these census tracts had more than 90 percent white population (in five of these nine tracts whites composed 99 percent of the population); in one tract there were approximately equal numbers of Blacks and whites, and in the eleventh tract the population was approximately two-thirds Black. The current Jensen principal estimated that the racial distribution of the school's attendance area after redistricting was about 70 percent white and 30 percent Black.

Housing and business patterns are difficult to summarize succinctly. The area around the school was formerly an affluent neighborhood. Now most of the large older homes are multiple-family dwellings. The district is transected by a number of major traffic arteries. These streets are lined with small retail and wholesale shops that serve the broader community. Along the main street closest to the school and the southeastern boundary of the school district, there are antique shops, used-book shops, and specialty and fast-food restaurants. The most affluent area of single-family homes is located in the southern part of the district. In the area nearest the downtown section there is a large health complex containing the University of River City Medical and Dental Schools and a number of other hospitals. This area also contains public housing projects and some manufacturing and warehousing facilities.

Through the 1975-1976 school year, the school had students in the 7th through 9th grades and operated as a Junior High School, since the system had a 6-3-3 plan. The next year (1976-1977) there were 6th through 8th grade students at the school, and Jensen became a Middle School as part of the 5-3-4 program. Of the 732 students who attended Jensen in the fall of 1974, approximately 56 percent were white, 43 percent were Black, and one student was Oriental. In the fall of 1975, there were 891 students enrolled, of which 29 percent were Black and 71 percent were white. The

decrease of approximately 14 percent in the Black population was a result of redrawing of the district's lines and the loss of transfer students, which brought the school within the court's racial guidelines. The student mobility rate (35%) differed little from that of the system as a whole (32%). During the 1974-1975 school year, over 50 percent of the Jensen students came from families whose income level fell below the ESEA Title I criterion of poverty. For the years 1972-1973 to 1974-1975, achievement test scores were relatively stable at each grade level, but in 1974 the school's mathematics and reading levels were about two grade equivalents lower than the national norms.

Students instructionally are grouped by grade (i.e., each department offers courses at the seventh, eighth, and ninth grade levels). There is some use of student tracking practices if Special Education for slow students is considered as a track. In past years there had been an advanced track as well. Since the majority of the advanced-track students were Black children who transferred into Jensen from River City's west side, the termination of the open transfer policy during the 1975-1976 school year meant there were not enough students to justify an advanced-track program.

During the 1974-1975 school season, there were 64 staff members at Jensen Junior High School. The principal estimated that nine certified people, including one administrative person, were members of the Teachers Association, and three were members of the American Federation of Teachers local. The staff turnover rate for the 1972-1973 school year, the last year for which data are available, was higher for Jensen (23%) than for the system as a whole (16%).

No formal organizational chart exists for Jensen; however, the Jensen Handbook contains job descriptions and basic policies. This document

indicates that the school is organized around a set of academic departments. Each department determines the division of labor for that department and selects people to occupy needed roles, such as department chairman. According to the Jensen Handbook, each department must fulfill three functions: curriculum planning, coordination of material use, and budget control. In the past, the principal, the vice-principal, and the two counselors had been considered an administrative team. Under principal Harry Miller, this administrative team participated in collaborative decision-making. The new principal, however, "goes by the book" and makes decisions much more autonomously. Her management style has led to increased job dissatisfaction on the part of those staff members who had been brought to Jensen by Harry Miller. Other staff members appear to be comfortable working under her leadership.

CHAPTER II: THE IMAGINATIVE EDUCATIONAL
COOPERATION PROJECT

The proposal for the Imaginative Educational Cooperation project was written by two members of the Organizational Development Department of the River City school system. The availability of NIE funds was brought to the attention of the TAG by Dr. Fred Fine, who was at that time the director of the system's research program. Originally, Dr. Fine was listed as the project's Principal Investigator and was to advise the TAG on matters related to documentation and evaluation. His department also furnished a research intern to assist the project.

The project, involving as it did a Technical Assistance Group located within an urban school system, was an example of a school system attempting to change itself from within as opposed to the impetus for change coming from agencies external to the public school system. The project was seen as an extension of the OD Department's then current activities. The project's extension to the local building level would have occurred eventually without NIE funds, according to Dr. Williams. The TAG had been working at the Board of Education and Central Office levels to prepare a favorable climate for building-level interventions. Thus, the NIE funds probably accelerated the TAG's initiation of building-level operations. Both Dr. Charity Williams and Paul Lennon discussed their proposal with Superintendent Baldwin before it was submitted to NIE, and they report that he was very supportive of the project.

Prior to the start of the project, the TAG had no history of involvement with the target schools, but the team had worked with both principals. Although the principals' knowledge of OD was already known, their interest in having the project in their schools was apparently just assumed. The

principals, according to Ned Winter, first heard about the project when they were called by Superintendent Baldwin to inform them that there was a possibility that NIE would fund the project and to inform them of a meeting with NIE personnel. Dr. Winter reported that he was angry when he found out that he had not been consulted, or even notified, about the project in the planning stages. Dr. Winter also said that he was particularly angry when he found out that his vita had been sent to Washington, D.C. without his knowledge or permission. Harry Miller, the principal at Jensen, did not share Dr. Winter's concern. It appears that he was pleased that his school had been chosen to participate in the IEC project.

The Funded Strategy for Phase I

The TAG's Phase I proposal asserts that the failure of urban school systems to solve the problems plaguing them was a result of the process by which solutions have been developed and implemented rather than a result of the solutions themselves. The proposal attributes the failure to the "role-centered model" of organizational structure and decision-making, which is characterized as one in which professional educational administrators define problems and construct solutions which must be implemented by others (e.g., staff, students, parents, or community members). Such programs are virtually doomed to failure because those people who are responsible for their implementation do not see the solutions as "theirs" and, therefore, do not see themselves as responsible for a program's success.

It is argued that another model, "Imaginative Educational Cooperation", has the potential to solve pressing educational problems. This model is based upon five major assumptions which can be paraphrased as follows:

- 1) People cannot be accountable for programs that they do not perceive as

theirs; 2) The skills necessary for effective participation are observable and, therefore, can be taught; 3) Program planners and evaluators must recognize and take into account the values, needs, and goals of a pluralistic society; 4) People are productive in tasks because of their desire to achieve ends related to their own personal goals; and 5) People from different role groups can work together productively with appropriate communications training.

Based upon the above-mentioned assumptions, three major objectives for the IEC project were stated by the TAG; the first was to develop a master collaborative process in the target schools which will allow staff, student, and community involvement in major decision-making and problem-solving related to curriculum, criteria for success, role and organization of staff, use of time and space, administrative responsibilities, evaluation strategies, organizational structure and other components of their local schools. The second was to develop skills in the areas of task interaction and interpersonal interaction to insure maximum functional efficiency in decision-making, objective-setting, problem-solving, strategy development and general group behavior on the part of parents, students, and staff in the local schools. And the third was to develop the Central Office staff as a resource or service team to the local schools and to de-emphasize their traditional evaluative and decision-making functions.

A four-stage developmental model was presented by the TAG which described the evolution of a problem-solving group from its beginnings as a heterogeneous, ineffective aggregate of people into an effective, cohesive, problem-solving group (Figure III). The model divided group behaviors along conventional social-psychological lines into task and interpersonal interactions. Figure IV shows the skills that are associated with each of the levels of group development.

Figure III: The IEC's Developmental Model of a Problem-Solving Group

	TASK INTERACTION	INTERPERSONAL INTERACTION
Stage 1	simple, concrete, specific helping each other no role interchangeability	formal relationship standard professional role-relations dominant
Stage 2	questioning & testing each other's competence disagreement about concepts, approaches, tasks, etc.	reaction to mutual commitment obligation doubts about adequacy of the other impatience with the roles of teacher and novice
Stage 3	specialist division of labor on mutual task accomplished mutually agreeable sharing of work and credit some role interchangeability	commitment as co-workers acceptable mutual respect and confidence acceptance of the other
Stage 4	ability to invent approach, plan and appropriate roles on complex task starting from broad substantial area of role inter-changeability	informal relationship high commitment, trust and mutual confidence ability to work freely and flexibly together

Figure IV: Operational Imaginative Educational Cooperation

STAGE	TASK SKILLS	INTERPERSONAL SKILLS	ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT	SCHOOL COMMUNITY
I	information sharing collaboration on simple tasks resource identification	develop trust relationships skills in feedback and paraphrasing skills in owning feelings	retain major decision-making role act as resource to build IEC teams clarify programs, roles	seek information and clarification develop concern with school community develop feelings of ownership of school
II	develop advisory skills skills in conflict management skills in identifying needs and values skills in more complex collaborative effort	clarify role groups, language, concepts, etc. develop common language, concepts commitment to group effort moving away from role identity	begin shared responsibility of decision-making about curriculum develop alternative learning strategies inform and listen	develop a broad base of community involvement develop knowledge of alternatives in curriculum, evaluation, organization, staff, etc.
III	skills in problem solving skills in data collection skills in objective setting	ability to live with ambiguity shared sense of responsibility and credit loss of role identification 3rd party consultation	develop resource role de-emphasize decision-maker evaluator role support power transfer	major role in decision-making system of accountability and objectives
IV	sophistication of above skills management by objectives collaboration	sophistication of above skills deep commitment to process and involvement	highly developed resource definition of areas of responsibility	refinement of formal and informal power mechanisms local control and accountability full
V	OPERATIONAL	IMAGINATIVE	EDUCATIONAL	COOPERATION

The task of the TAG, then, was to reach their objectives by taking the target school populations through the developmental stages; the necessary TAG interventions were to be geared toward training the appropriate skills and developing the appropriate organizational norms and organizational structures. Since the proposal indicated that the objectives would be implemented in four stages, one must assume that both target populations were functioning at the Stage I level. Despite the fact that one would think the model shown in Figure III would be a useful way to describe the initial conditions in the two target schools, very little information is presented about the two schools.

The TAG argued that the principal was the pivotal figure in problem-solving at the local school level. The role of the TAG was to act as a consultant to the principal. The methodology by which this consultation would be done was said to be Schien's Process Consulting Cycle and is shown in Figure V. The actual flow of events, it was said, depended upon the speed at which the schools developed; therefore, a timetable could not be specified in advance. Though it was pointed out that the TAG recognized the need for evaluation and documentation, there was no hint of how these tasks were to be accomplished.

After having read the TAG's proposal for funding the IEC project several times, this writer still finds it difficult not to use the term "arm-chair proposal" to describe it.* He finds it still more difficult to understand how such a document would lead a federal agency to fund the project. That the proposal was submitted to NIE and eventually funded has

*As a part of the overall plan for writing this case study, the three major TAG members (Boseman, Williams and Lennon) were among those asked to critique the first draft of the case study. As of July 25, 1977, only Boseman had replied to DTA's request for written comments regarding this document. Boseman's comments are found in Appendix B.

Figure V: Schien's Process Consultation Cycle

Stages

1. Initial contact with the client organization;
2. Defining the relationship, formal contract, and psychological contract;
3. Selecting and setting a method of work;
4. Data gathering and diagnosis;
5. Interventions;

The modes of intervention which will be employed are as follows:

- 1) Training or education: procedures involving direct teaching or experience-based learning. Such technologies as lectures, exercises, simulations, and T-groups are examples.
 - 2) Observation: watching and aiding on-going processes and coaching to improve them.
 - 3) Confrontation: bringing together units of the school (persons, roles, or groups) which have previously been in poor communication; usually accompanied by supporting data.
 - 4) Data feedback: systematic collection of information, which is then reported back to appropriate organizational units as a base for diagnosis, problem-solving, and planning.
 - 5) Problem-solving: meetings essentially focusing on problem identification, diagnosis, and solution invention and implementation.
 - 6) Plan-making: activity focused primarily on planning and goal setting to replot the school's future.
 - 7) OD task force establishment: setting up ad hoc problem-solving groups or inter-teams of specialists to ensure that the school solves problems and carries out plans continuously.
 - 8) Techno-structural activity: action which has as its prime focus the alteration of the school's structure, work flow, and means of accomplishing tasks.
6. Reducing involvement;
 7. Termination.

certain implications for questions of interest to the DTA project -- those regarding knowledge utilization and the capacity for problem solving. The implications will be discussed in Chapter V.*

The problems with the TAG's proposal are numerous and include at least the following:

- 1) There is no documentation or support for a single assertion in the paper except in regard to the importance of the principal in problem-solving at the local school level.

- 2) The statement of the problem is global. There is no evidence of how the global problem relates to the specific target schools chosen. In other words, the proposal states the objectives but not the starting point. This is not difficult to understand if it is recalled that the writers of the proposal had not visited the schools they were going to help.

- 3) The method by which the goals are to be achieved is equally vague. Schien's Consulting Cycle would appear to be a poor substitute for a specific method designed to solve a specific problem. However, if one does not know what specific problems are to be overcome, it is difficult to specify a method. In such cases, it is much easier to say, in effect, "Here are a bunch of things we might try when we define the problem."

- 4) Despite the goals the TAG had set and their proposal to use Schien's sequence, the question of evaluation is begged completely. As we shall see, the project never succeeded in getting beyond the initial statement of evaluation.

In short, the IEC project seemed to know where it was going, and why, but had little idea of where it was starting from, how to get to goal, and how to assess its progress.

*(Editor's Comments.) See Appendix F for an alternative perspective on NIE's funding of the proposal.

The Implementation of the Project in the Target Schools

The National Institute of Education's funding of the IEC project began on July 1, 1974. The summer was spent in gearing up the project for actual work in the fall of 1974. Some of the main activities of the first summer included: searching for a third and full-time TAG member, planning an introductory workshop for each school collaboratively with the principals, and attempting to develop an evaluation procedure. Since this researcher did not make contact with the IEC project until approximately 10 months after it was funded, information about that summer was taken from interviews with members of the TAG, principally with Dr. Williams.

Whatever legitimacy the TAG initially had was the result of its position in the Central Office power structure, and because of the clear understanding that Superintendent Baldwin supported the project. Thus, the TAG's entry path was from the top downward to the principal, then to the rest of the school. According to Dr. Williams, participants were introduced to the project through experiential learning in workshops and other TAG interventions rather than through a formal presentation of the project's philosophy and purpose. The sequence of involvement at Washington started with the principal, then moved to parents and to other staff members. Initially, the TAG worked with the following subgroups: community members and parents, paraprofessional staff, certified staff, curriculum committee, and the administrative team. At Jensen, involvement began with the principal; other staff members were involved later, and a few parents were involved about one year later.

Prior to funding of the project, the target populations had no expectations about benefits to be derived from the project. When the project

1
began, the teachers were confused about its nature, what was to be expected of them, and how they were to benefit from it. Students had no expectations because they did not know about the project. The principals expected to use the funds and staff to support their ongoing priorities. As for parents, those at Jensen knew nothing about the project. Those at Washington looked on it as a source of funds for workshops and other projects, but they were uncertain about the role of the consultants.

The clients' initial reception of the project was mixed at both schools. At Washington, the TAG was received warmly by staff and parents, although the consultants' role in the school was not understood, as mentioned above. Principal Ned Winter's reception of the project, according to Dr. Williams, was mixed and depended upon who was to control the project's funds. However, according to Dr. Winter, the issue was the process by which funds were controlled, not who controlled the funds. In discussing the project's reception at Jensen, Dr. Williams said that the staff was originally not in favor of it, and the principal was ambivalent -- positive about the project but unsure about how to use it.

Some Effects of the River City-Jackson County School Systems' Merger and Court-Ordered Desegregation on the IEC Project

Though the prospects of merger and desegregation appear to have been foreseen when the IEC project was designed and funded, the effects of these events appear to have come sooner, and to have had more profound effects than expected. In general, it seems clear that even if the IEC project had been well designed, these events would have seriously impaired the TAG's ability to implement their goals. Even if the project had been successful in achieving its three major objectives, the target schools' ability to sustain their new level of functioning would be questionable, given the

people to achieve racial balance of students and staff led to an increase in the student and staff turnover.

What the Participants in the Target Schools Said
About the First Phase of the IEC Project

Shortly after the end of the first 18 months (Phase I) of the IEC project and early in the DTA study, our research assistant spent a day at each of the two target schools. She sat in a place where there typically was a high incidence of congregation, the first floor teachers' lounge. She interviewed as many people as possible about the IEC project. At Jensen, 20 of the 25 people entering the lounge were interviewed, and at Washington, 36 of 41 of those coming to the lounge were interviewed. The samples of the two schools drawn in this manner are assumed to be representative of the paraprofessionals, teachers, and parents. Although the interviews were not formally structured, the research assistant was asked to get the same basic information from each respondent: 1) Could the person identify the project by its formal title (IEC project) or by one of its informal titles (OD or NIE project), 2) Did the person know the three principal TAG members (Boseman, Williams and Lennon), 3) What did the respondent consider the purposes of the project to be, 4) Had the respondent attended any TAG-sponsored events, 5) How had the respondent benefited by the project, and 6) How could the project be improved?

Of 20 people interviewed at Jensen, 10 knew nothing about the project. The group who knew nothing of IEC consisted of two substitute teachers, two new paraprofessionals, and five clerical personnel who had been at the school for varying lengths of time, and one certified teacher. Of the 10 remaining people -- those who knew about the project -- two were counselors and eight were certified teachers. The 10 people who knew of the project

knew it by both its formal and informal titles; of those, seven knew it as the OD project. All 10 people indicated that they had attended TAG-sponsored events, and all said they knew both Boseman and Williams. Seven of the 10 said they knew Paul Lennon. Some of the major purposes of the project mentioned were: that it was studying problem-solving or some particular problem (e.g., curriculum) at Jensen (6), that it was to provide information or resources (2), and that the project was trying to facilitate problem-solving and decision-making at Jensen (4). Among the project benefits named by the respondents were: they held workshops; they showed staff at Jensen how to solve problems; they gave teachers a chance to be together and get to know each other better; they provided resources (money, released time, facilities); and they prodded staff along. Several suggestions as to how the project could be improved were given: the TAG should have more contact with the school; they should follow through or follow up with what they start; they should give more guidance and immediate feedback; and they should listen to more experienced teachers.

At Washington, those interviewed fall into four classes: 14 were certified personnel (teachers or counselors), six were parents (who could be Neighborhood School Board members and/or paraprofessionals as well), 14 were paraprofessionals (but not parents), many of whom were CETA workers just hired, and two were custodians. It is interesting that several people in the latter two categories had heard of the NIE project and knew of Will Boseman, even if they knew nothing about the project. We will now consider the 14 certified people and the six parents.

Of the 14 teachers and counselors interviewed, four knew the project by its formal title (IEC project), but most knew it as the NIE project. Twelve had attended TAG-sponsored events. Thirteen respondents said that they knew

Will Boseman, 10 indicated that they knew Charity Williams, and only six said they knew Paul Lennon. Three people said that they did not know the purpose of the project, but 11 stated what they believed to be at least one purpose. Some of the purposes mentioned included: facilitating the development of problem-solving and decision-making (9); providing resources such as funds, place, released time (6); increasing cooperation and cohesion (2); teaching problem-solving skills (3); promoting creativity (1); studying decision-making processes (4); and helping solve personal problems (1). Nine of the 12 teachers said that they had been helped by the project. Some of the ways that help was provided included: the TAG facilitated, or participated as problem-solvers, in a group attended by teachers (5); they provided resources such as money, released time, facilities (5); teachers gained skills and information (5); group cohesion was improved (4); and they helped solve personal problems (4). Nine of the 14 certified personnel had no suggestions as to how the project could be improved, primarily because they thought it was already doing so well. Those who suggested improvements made the following recommendations: Will Boseman should have more help from Paul Lennon, Charity Williams, or new TAG members (2); more resources (11); more feedback (11); more interaction between the Central Office and the school (1); more schools should be included in the project (1). These 14 people rather uniformly asserted that since the project helps teachers, it will help students automatically.

Of the six Washington parents interviewed, one had heard of the IEC project, and the other five knew the project as the NIE project. All six knew Will Boseman, five said they knew Charity Williams, and four indicated that they knew Paul Lennon. All said they had attended TAG events. Five of

the six parents interviewed responded to the question about the project's purposes. Some of their responses are as follows: to facilitate problem-solving at Washington (3); to increase cohesion (2); to teach problem-solving skills (1); and to study problem-solving at Washington (1). Three of the six parents indicated that they had been helped by the project as distinct from how they had benefited from their experience at Washington generally. The three parents who indicated that they had been helped by the project listed the following types of benefits: helped in solving personal problems (3); received information or learned skills (3); and the TAG's resources were helpful (2). Four of the six parents interviewed indicated that they had no suggestions as to how the project could be improved; the other two indicated that more workshops, particularly workshops planned and operated by parents, would be helpful.

There are several interesting comparisons which can be derived from the interviews with the two different client populations. First, newer people and those in support positions at Washington were more likely to know something about the IEC project than were those in the same positions at Jensen. Also, those interviewed at Jensen were more likely to consider that the purpose of the project was to study the school rather than to change or improve it; the opposite assumption was true at Washington. Thus, Jensen saw the TAG as more passive than did Washington. At Washington, it was clear that frequently the purposes of the whole NIE project (i.e., DTA and IEC) were being described. The Jensen staff appeared to be much less enthusiastic about the project than did people at Washington. When Jensen personnel made suggestions, they tended to be saying that the project would have been better if the TAG had behaved differently; at Washington the respondents appeared to be asking for more of a good thing.

Interview data presented here from administrative team members (counselors) of both schools support other data collected from principals and vice-principals. The data from the interviews suggest that the higher status people distinguished between the project and its resources. The higher status people were likely to talk about the resources the TAG brought as being as much of an asset as any other part of the project. Data from both schools also indicate, not unexpectedly, that the degree to which TAG members were known reflected their relative involvement in the day-to-day operation of the project.

Phase II -- Assessment and Change

The author feels that the Phase II document is a vast improvement over the original proposal in terms of coherence, specificity, and clarity. There are two striking improvements: First, the TAG attempted to relate specific strategies to particular objectives; and second, they attempted to describe the initial and current state of the target schools, using the TAG's four-stage developmental model of problem-solving groups.

The major problem with the TAG's Phase II proposal remains in the area of internal documentation and evaluation. There is no supporting evidence for assertions made by the TAG. This is particularly true with regard to assertions made about changes occurring at Washington during Phase I. Despite repeated references to the importance of internal documentation and evaluation of the IEC project, little progress was exhibited in the development of documentation and evaluation techniques for Phase II of the project.

The problem with the lack of internal evaluation and documentation in the project is that any claim that the schools had changed or that the

resulting changes could be attributed to the IEC project is grossly subjective. Although the subjectivity of the supporting data would not trouble some people and indeed would be the appropriate method to answer certain questions, it is a major flaw in the project from this writer's viewpoint. For one thing, two different subjective views are not readily reconcilable without some external standard. An interesting example of the problem has occurred with the TAG's assessment of Washington at the beginning and end of Phase I. In the Phase II (pp 20-21) proposal, the TAG maintains that Washington has shown substantial improvement in the seven skill areas over Phase I. Before sending the proposal to NIE, the TAG met with Ned Winter to get his opinion of the proposal. With respect to the TAG assertion that Washington had improved, Winter said, "What you should have written is that initially the TAG was ignorant about (Washington) and now they know the truth." Thus, the TAG was asserting that the skill level at Washington had improved, but Ned Winter was arguing that it was only the TAG's perception that had improved -- that the skill level had been high all along. On the basis of the information at hand, there is no way to evaluate which of the two assertions is correct.

It is also interesting to note that the evaluation and documentation plan set out in the Phase II proposal does not direct itself to the evaluation problem. The stated research plan indicates that the Research Intern will be used to document what the TAG does (process evaluation) but does not mention the collection of data on changes in the client's behavior or status (outcome evaluation). It was proposed that three kinds of data would be collected about the client: verbatim accounts of participants describing TAG events to other participants; identifying and cataloging key words representative of organization cultures; and documenting and describing

the career of new ideas, concepts, and descriptions used by participants and their impact on problem-solving in the school. It is difficult to see how such data could be used to assess the establishment of collaborative problem-solving in the schools, the improvement of client skills, or the development of the Central Office as a resource rather than a control center, which the TAG claimed to be their goals.

The fact that the TAG proposed a new strategy for Phase II activities at Jensen is interesting, because it reflects a radical shift for the TAG and also because it may be an interesting example of the project's reaction to the DTA site researcher. The major strategy changes for Jensen set forth in the Phase II proposal are: the TAG would work with interested subgroups rather than with the school as a whole; they would work directly with teachers rather than through or with the principal; they would work as directive change agents rather than as client-centered facilitators. Also, the proposal makes specific mention of the use of operant conditioning or reinforcement techniques, for the first time, although there are technical inaccuracies in their presentation.*

As was previously mentioned, the two chief TAG members left the Jackson County school system at the end of the 1975-1976 school year. At this

*During the summer of 1975, just prior to the DTA conference in Eugene, Oregon, each site researcher was asked to write a background and position paper which included his initial analysis of the project he was observing. In that paper, this site researcher wrote that the role of facilitator was probably ineffectual and dishonest with regard to Jensen, because the TAG was not interested in helping them do better than what they were doing but was interested in changing their behavior in directions specified by TAG objectives. Thus, the role of the TAG would be more accurately that of behavior modifier or change agent, not facilitator. This assertion was, of course, based upon the site researcher's background and philosophical disposition. During the time the TAG members were writing their Phase II proposal, they borrowed a tape recording of an extended discussion between the site researcher and TAG members in which many of these notions were discussed.

point, Boseman became the director of the project, and a new TAG member, a friend of Charity Williams, was in the process of being hired. Paula Scott, the new consultant, had no background in OD but was well versed in content areas, particularly curriculum. On June 2, 1976, the TAG's final staff meeting of the school year was held at the central office building. The meeting was convened by Boseman as the project director. During this meeting, Boseman made several interesting statements to Paula Scott. First, he said that he had no stake in changing Jensen, "but (NIE Project Officer) does." Second, he said that he did not want to put in any time at Jensen during the fall of 1976. Finally, he told her that he did not expect any significant progress at Jensen.

As it turned out, the two TAG members were not replaced; Paula Scott was not hired. As was discussed in Chapter I, Section B, it is not clear whether the final decision regarding the two TAG members was made by the system's Deputy Superintendent for Instruction or by Boseman. During the summer of 1976, after consultation with NIE Project Officer, Jensen was dropped from the IEC project.

Ned Winter's Assessment of the Impact
of the IEC Project on Washington School

One of the most difficult tasks faced by this researcher during the period that the IEC project was studied was to get Dr. Winter to discuss candidly his assessment of how Washington had benefited by its inclusion in the IEC project. When, in the fall of 1975, the researcher asked Dr. Winter if the IEC project was responsible for any improvements in Washington's collaborative decision-making structures or its problem-solving skills that would not have occurred in the absence of the project, Dr. Winter replied jokingly that he could "argue either way."

In June 1977, Dr. Winter did give his assessment of the project's impact on Washington. The conversation occurred while the IEC project was being phased out and at the end of the DTA documentation of the project. At this point, Dr. Winter had read the first draft of the case study. According to Winter, the "NIE project" had been tremendously helpful over the past two years. He mentioned three major benefits of his school's participation in the project: First, "The funds were most beneficial --without them we would not have had released time, workshops, or stipends. The year before the project started we only had two thousand dollars, contributed by Teacher Corps, for these programs." Second, "NIE was a strong source of support when the Jackson County Board of Education attempted to close us. (The NIE Project Officer) came to help us; and Will, Paul and Charity were supportive." Finally, "The NIE project also tied us in with other resources; for example, Marian Barber's project." Dr. Winter was asked to point out how the TAG itself or the funded strategy, as opposed to the project's funds, had helped Washington. He responded that he did not need the funded strategy or the TAG -- just the money. He said that he had hired 187 outside consultants in one year while he was at the Central Office, so he knew where to get the help needed if he had the funds. Dr. Winter said that Williams and Lennon did not deserve much credit except that they wrote the original proposal. About the three principal TAG members, he stated that Lennon and Williams did not do much facilitation at Washington but "Will (Boseman) was a good listener, people found him so, he did a lot of work on interpersonal problems...he siphoned off many problems that I would have had to deal with."

Summary and Conclusions

In this chapter there has been little discussion of what the TAG members actually did. This omission was conscious, because focusing primarily on outcomes draws out some of the primary implications of the project for the major purpose of this paper, which is to understand how school systems can build a sustained capacity for problem-solving. There is an agreement among the TAG, the school staff, and this researcher that the IEC project has had little or no impact on Jensen Junior High School. The TAG's failure at Jensen will be explored further in Chapter IV.

Both at the start of, and at the completion of the IEC project, Washington more closely approximated the project's desired outcomes than did Jensen, as outlined in the objectives section of the TAG's Phase I proposal. But evidence that Washington has improved, with respect to the TAG's goals, while the TAG has been involved in the school, is lacking. The principal reason that the outcome of the IEC project at Washington cannot be evaluated is methodological in nature. The fact is, we have no documented evidence about the state of individual problem-solving skills or about the state of collaborative decision-making structures at Washington prior to the start of the IEC project. Therefore, we cannot say that these variables have changed over time. There are two principal reasons why such data are not possible: 1) The TAG did not collect such data systematically as a part of an internal documentation program, and 2) DTA's external documentation of the IEC project began 10 months after the IEC project started. As was previously noted, the TAG argued, in their Phase II proposal, that positive changes had occurred at Washington over the first 18 months of the project. The TAG's analysis appears to be both subjective and retrospective. As discussed

earlier in the present chapter, Dr. Winter and the TAG disagree as to whether changes noted in the IEC project's Phase II proposal represent changes in the stated variables or whether the changes represent improved perception on the TAG's part.

The problem of assessing the effectiveness of the IEC project at Washington is further compounded by the fact that even if positive changes were noted, along the dimensions specified by the TAG, such changes would be subject to alternative interpretations. There are no control conditions which would rule out assertions that such changes would have occurred without the TAG or their "strategy", or that such changes were the result of the NIE funds alone. Therefore, reasonable persons would be justified in arguing that variables such as those mentioned are as important, or more important, than the presence of the TAG and their "strategy".

The major type of data suggesting that the TAG (their presence or their "strategy") may have had an impact on Washington is found in the great affection expressed by Washington parents and staff toward the IEC project, in general, and toward Will Boseman, in particular. This affection may only indicate that Boseman has accepted, and has been accepted into the Washington culture. That may have been what Paul Lennon meant when he said, "(Will Boseman) has been completely co-opted at Washington and cannot be an effective OD consultant there." More will be said about problem-solving at Washington in the next chapter.

The present chapter will conclude with a list of some of the major events of the IEC project during Phase I (Figure VI). It is not the purpose of this listing to present an exhaustive chronology of the IEC project. The listing is included to give the reader some idea of what kinds of things the TAG did. It will give the reader a chance to see how the activities of the IEC project are similar or different from those of the other eight projects studied by DTA.

FIGURE VI: MAJOR PHASE I EVENTS FOR THE IEC PROJECT

	Washington	Jensen	Other
1974			
Aug.	4 day in-service workshop for principal, staff, neighborhood school board, and community	1 day in-service workshop for principal and staff	
Sept.	TAG begins 7 day observation at the school	TAG visits faculty meeting to explain project	
Oct.	3 day neighborhood school board workshop on problems identified by TAG through "sensing interviews"	1 day staff in-service based on questionnaire filled out by staff	2 staff members attend initial National Training Lab (NTL) Organization Development (OD) training sequence
58 Nov.	Voluntary personal growth group started at school's request Consultant begins to devote full time to school Purdue Teachers Inventory administered to staff at Principal's request	In-service workshop to follow up on action plans developed by staff	
Dec.	Consultant continued to work with subgroups that met weekly	Consultant worked with counselors, 4 teachers, and their students in problem solving sessions Consultant worked with principal and a steering committee to attempt to establish problems that were of interest to staff	TAG attempted to develop a general framework which could be used to describe the difference between the 2 target schools

1975	Washington	Jensen	Other
Jan.	Workshop held to plan orientation for new neighborhood school board members and to deal with curriculum matters	TAG met with subgroups to attempt to stimulate interest in the project	1 TAG member attended NTL training sequence
Feb.		Continued attempts to develop interest in and role for project. Only 1 staff member indicates the need for assistance with problems Task-oriented workshop	Consultant attends OD program at university 2 TAG members begin to devote most of their time to OD consultation with Board of Education and administrative staff
Mar.	Consultant attended NSB meeting and arranged for people to go to a major city in the region to get information on city schools	OD consultant begins to observe for 2 weeks and to give feedback to principal	TAG moved from OD Department to the Department of Research, Evaluation, and Development
April		Continued observation of principal and extended observation to the administrative team A few staff members expressed interest in personal growth group	
May		Workshop for administrative team dealing with intergroup relations and planning for next school year	River City DTA site researcher hired

1975	Washington	Jensen	Other
June	Workshop held for long range planning and conflict management	TAG attends first staff meeting to summarize the state of the project there	
July	No events recorded		
Aug.	5 day pre-school workshop for staff and parents	3 day pre-school workshop for staff, attended by a few parents	
Sept.	Consultant attends weekly sub-group meeting ½ day workshop on teacher evaluation NSB's networking workshop on developing a coalition of local NSBs		
Oct.	½ day workshop on teacher evaluation 2 day personal growth workshop for NSB	TAG conducts problem survey interviews and gives feedback	
Nov.	Continuation of weekly task group meetings	Team building sessions Voluntary workshop on OD skills development	
Dec.	TAG members and some staff and parents attend National Community Education Assn. conference		

It will be apparent to the reader that there was greater involvement in TAG activities on the part of Washington staff and parents than with Jensen staff and that the activities at Washington were more fully developed.

CHAPTER III: MAJOR THEMES OF THE
RIVER CITY SITE

MAJOR THEMES OF THE RIVER CITY SITE

As more experience was gained in the River City site by this writer several themes emerged that appeared to warrant closer investigation. The first of these sought the reason the TAG had failed to have any significant impact on Jensen Junior High School. Another major theme dealt with the continual conflict between the Central Office and Washington Elementary School. The principal question about the conflict was how it would continue to develop or be resolved. Still another theme centered on the close-knit Washington School's interaction with others in the school's community. The final theme was the principal's role in promoting collaborative problem-solving in each of the two target schools. These themes are presented in the pages which follow.

Unfortunately, as events developed, one of the themes came to predominate to such an extent that there was very little time to devote to the others. In March 1976, the Superintendent of the Jackson County schools decreed that five schools were to be closed at the end of the current school year. One of these schools was Washington.

The Failure of the IEC Project at Jensen

The two target schools involved in the IEC project differed from each other in important ways from the very outset of the project. When the project started, Washington was by their own reports, already far along in meeting the first two goals of the IEC project, which were: 1) building a master collaborative decision-making process and 2) developing personal skills in task interaction and interpersonal interaction. Washington was so far along, in fact, that it is difficult to see what impact the project had

on that school, despite the fact that Will Bosewell is highly regarded by the staff and parents. Most of what can be learned from Washington has to do with how Ned Winter developed the collaborative structure before the IEC project started.

Jensen, on the other hand, had made very little progress toward the project's goals. Dr. Williams has made the following comments about Jensen's selection as a target school:

We tried to pick one [school] that was like most schools and I think Jensen is like most schools. . .I would have to say that Jensen was a fairly normal junior high school. . .an inner-city junior high school. It was not the worst one that we had and it was not the best one we had.

To the extent that Jensen was a typical junior high school, the project's success or failure there should hold some lessons about building a sustained capacity for problem-solving in urban schools. It is the average school, a school like Jensen, that constitutes the majority of schools waiting for improvement. In most instances, TAGs will have neither the luxury nor the need to work with schools as advanced in terms of the IEC project's goals as was Washington. At this point in the project there appears to be no reason to argue that the TAG has had any effect in changing Jensen in the direction of the project's goals. In June of 1976, either Will Bosewell or the Deputy Superintendent for Instruction, declined to replace the two TAG members who left the project and, as a result, Jensen was dropped as a target school; NIE approved this change. Thus, there was no further opportunity for the project to improve its degree of success at that school.

There are two kinds of evidence that support the contention that the IEC project had no success in moving Jensen toward the project's goals. The first kind of supporting evidence is found in the fact that over the past

24 months the TAG's interventions had successively moved away from the goal of a whole-school collaborative problem-solving structure in order to find some smaller entry point. The second kind of evidence is found in what participants have to say about the project.

Over the past 24 months, the TAG has adopted three successively less ambitious methods of working at Jensen. These methods have involved working with smaller proportions of the staff and working on more and more limited (rather than school-wide) problems. Initially, the TAG attempted to involve the whole school in selecting school-wide problems and in forming task forces or committees to work on the resolution of the problems. From the TAG's Phase I logs it is clear that the bulk of the TAG's efforts at Jensen were devoted to an attempt to find problems of interest to the whole faculty as well as faculty willing to work at their solution. Next, the strategy changed to trying to identify "natural groups", groups that already had some problem of interest to them, which the TAG could assist. Examples of their attempt to develop a problem-solving cadre include working with the new teachers as a group; efforts to resolve conflicts within the administrative team; and working with the student government. Finally, the TAG, principally Charity Williams, decided to work primarily with individuals on whatever problem concerned them.

Each of these last two strategies was designed to get a "toe-hold" where the TAG could begin to work toward the larger objectives. Dr. Williams has said that if she were ever to attempt such a project again, she would begin on the individual level. Dr. Williams has had the following remarks to make about the move to working with natural groups:

So we began to write a proposal [Phase II]. So at that point we decided that we were not really seeing the major impacts...or maybe we were not getting the best intervention. Maybe we needed some new intervention strategies to see if we couldn't stimulate interest... around curriculum development, or just anything at that point to break this inertia which was the expected norm. To do that we decided that anything anyone wanted to do, basically, we were going to respond to positively, with lots of enthusiasm, even if it meant personal development, which we said [earlier] we were not going to respond to in either school.

By self-development, Dr. Williams said she meant allowing someone to attend some kinds of professional development conferences, even if only one or two or three teachers wanted to go to learn one single thing, and even if they did not plan to tell the rest of the faculty about it when they got back. Their purpose did not have to be involved with any problem identified as school-wide. Some examples of "interventions" at this level include helping the principal with the transition from a junior high school program to a middle school program. To facilitate the transition, Sara Johnson and two teachers went to a middle school conference in Miami, Florida; the vice-principal and the instructional coordinator went to a National Reading Association convention in California; and a few teachers visited some middle schools in Jackson County.

Theoretically, it is possible that the TAG had moved back to a point where they could begin to show noticeable progress toward the target goals. However, given the fact that the project has been terminated at Jensen, progress will not be able to be assessed. There is reason to doubt that continuing the school in the project would have brought progress, since the new project director indicated he expected no such results, would not personally work for results, and no longer cared.

Turning to the participants' evaluation of the project at Jensen, we have already seen that those who were interviewed did not see much benefit from the project. Most of the interviewees had been involved in the original school-wide thrust, but similar responses were obtained when three groups with whom Dr. Williams felt the TAG had been relatively successful were interviewed. These groups were the new teachers' group, the adviser for the student council, and the members of the administrative group who were not getting along well with each other and had received help from the TAG to resolve that conflict, with Paul Lennon as mediator. Finally, during his last interview with Dr. Williams, the writer asked if Jensen had developed any sustained capacity to solve its own problems, and she responded, "No."

The nature of the data available in this project does not allow firm conclusions to be drawn about why the TAG failed to have an impact on Jensen Junior High School. The best that can be done is to review some variables that might have contributed to the project's failure. The rest of this section will be devoted to that task.

One possible explanation for the failure was that the TAG was correct in their original assertion that the collaborative development of a project is essential to its success. As we have seen throughout the first three chapters, neither of the target schools was involved in the development of the IEC project. The administrators of the two schools did not even know that a proposal was being written. In fact, the development of the project fits closely the "role-centered" model of decision-making in that the problems were defined and the strategy was developed by a group of Central Office experts, which the TAG asserted was the problem in the first place.

A second, but related, variable is the TAG's assertion that the principal was the pivotal figure for problem-solving at the local building level. Although neither school was involved in the development of the proposal, the goals of the proposal supported or were complementary to those of Ned Winter, the Washington principal. Thus, the project funds and resources could be applied to an ongoing program at Washington. Neither of the two principals at Jensen ever gave the project significant support. Harry Miller, as this writer understands, gave verbal support to the project's philosophy but did not actually support the project, although he did work collaboratively with a select group of staff members that he had encouraged to come to Jensen. The second principal, Sara Johnson, has frequently said that she values collaborative input, but will make the decisions herself because she must live with them. With merger and the loss of Dr. Baldwin as superintendent, the TAG never had a power base that could have developed external pressure for a principal's support of the project. Principal Sara Johnson has supported the use of TAG funds for staff development in various content areas for herself and other staff members.

Another possible variable frequently mentioned by Dr. Williams was that the norms at Jensen were such that the school was very difficult to work with. Some examples of these norms are:

It became very clear to us that there were no norms around the whole group making a decision on anything.

There also was a norm that said, "I'm a teacher. I have a classroom and students, and I teach them. The kinds of school-wide problems, such as curriculum and discipline, are really for the administrators to solve."

So there was not a norm that you came to a meeting to work, or that you came to a meeting to discuss, and if the topic was of critical importance, you might be there for an hour and fifteen minutes. That was not allowable within that norm.

The problem with the "norms" argument as used by the TAG is that it was a tautology and, therefore, a pseudo-explanation. That is, the behavior to be explained, such as not letting meetings run over 45 minutes, was the basis for the statement that such a norm existed. The norm was then used to explain the fact that the groups would not meet for more than 45 minutes.

Another possible reason for the TAG's failure at Jensen might be that they did not spend enough time in the school. When this researcher made contact with the project, Will Bosewell was employed full-time on the project, and Paul Lennon and Charity Williams were to work half-time on the project and half-time on other projects. If all of these hours were put in on the project by the staff, it would still have been an inadequate amount of time to work with two schools. We have seen that for long periods of time Will Bosewell was working in both schools by himself, and Paul Lennon and Charity Williams were involved in merger and desegregation activities. Even after those events ended, Paul Lennon spent almost no time in IEC project activities.

The paucity of time the TAG spent at Jensen has been one of the most frequent criticisms of the TAG by Jensen staff members. In the interviews this criticism was made repeatedly by the clients. In the site researcher's first two interviews, held with principal Harry Miller and vice-principal Mark Jones, a request was made for suggestions that would help the researcher make a smoother entry at their school. In each case they responded, "Be at the school frequently and regularly. Will Bosewell did not follow this advice and had made only minimal progress toward effective entry at Jensen."

One would suspect that attempting to alter radically the structure and operation of a large organization such as Jensen would be an extremely

labor-intensive activity if success were really to be expected. Therefore, the lack of adequate person-hours may, in part, explain the TAG's failure. However, as will be discussed shortly, staying away from Jensen may also have constituted avoidance behavior and thus have been "symptomatic" of another more basic problem rather than the problem itself.

Another criticism frequently made of the TAG was that they would have good ideas or start things going but would not follow through. Their lack of follow-through seems to be related to the preceding problem.

Over the months that this writer has been involved in observing the IEC project, he has become more and more convinced that his original assessment of the TAG's failure at Jensen was correct. Although the writer is suspicious of such a conclusion, he can find no contrary evidence. Basically, he saw the project at Jensen as requiring a substantial behavior change thrust rather than facilitation of ongoing group dynamics if the project's goals were to be realized. He saw the TAG as lacking the knowledge and skills to accomplish such a major change. The TAG's failure to work consistently at Jensen appeared to be avoidance of the situation as much as the cause of the failure.

There are several kinds of evidence that support such a contention. First, the areas that the TAG's proposals were weakest in were precisely those areas that would need to be the strongest in order to improve collaboration and skill development at Jensen, namely internal evaluation, documentation, and the specification of well-formulated methodology.

A second type of evidence is found in an interview with Will Bosewell in which he discussed his changes in strategy at Jensen. In response to the question regarding changing of strategy, Will Bosewell said, "Over the

year -- avoid Jensen. Changing toward one of the schools generally to pursue more of my own personal likes and interest in the project." When asked why he had started to avoid Jensen, one of his major reasons was, "[The] unwillingness of the people in that school to involve themselves in change processes without extremely high probability of successful outcome." The unwillingness to change should not, however, be unexpected, since the need for success is an axiom of behavior change, and the technology of behavior change consists of taking people from where they are to where you want them to be by arranging for their behavior to result in successful outcomes.

After merger, the lack of value placed on the project's goals probably means that at that point no amount of successful technology would have helped the people to continue to act in ways that were not rewarded by the principal and the Central Office. As we will see, Washington has received considerable punishment for behaving in ways consistent with the goals of the IEC project.

Thus, as this site researcher sees it, the IEC interventions at Jensen failed to be rewarding experiences for either the clients or the TAG. The clients were asked to behave in a manner specified by the project's goals rather than being rewarded for successive approximations of the goals. For the TAG, the clients' failure to progress at the rapid pace expected was very punishing, so the TAG avoided the school which of course further compounded the problem. To have been successful, the TAG should have specified a set of sub-goals, taking the clients from their original behavior toward the target goal in small, manageable steps and should have assessed the changes. Under such conditions, the clients would have been rewarded for

the progress made, the progress would have been apparent to the TAG, and, with any luck, the successes would have kept the TAG actively involved in the school.

Washington's Attempts to Remain Open

Since April of 1974, Washington has been involved in the biggest problem-solving venture of them all: how to keep Washington and its program alive. During the months that DTA has been documenting Washington, the amount of time, resources, and energy that have been devoted to this issue by staff, students, community members, and sympathetic leaders in River City defies counting. This section will describe in fairly general terms how Washington attempted to solve a problem with which it has been repeatedly faced.

In many ways, Washington Elementary School was prototypical of what Superintendent Baldwin had hoped to see throughout the River City school system during his tenure there. Washington's young staff were highly committed to, and involved in the school and its community. Of all of the schools in the system, Washington had probably expended the most effort and had been the most successful in actualizing decentralization through the development of a very active Neighborhood School Board.

However, Washington's high degree of parental involvement, particularly in the school's governance, and its humanistic educational program were quite controversial within the River City school system. TAG member Paul Lennon has said that Washington would have been closed long ago if it had not been for Superintendent Baldwin's special protection of the school. At this point, it is interesting to note, but the importance is unclear, that Sally Baldwin, the Superintendent's wife, worked as a volunteer teacher at

Washington, and she returned as a curriculum consultant on one occasion after she and Superintendent Baldwin moved to California. Paul Lennon's observation is corroborated by conversations over the past year between the researcher and a number of people who were principals or Central Office personnel in the former River City school system. In these discussions, only two former City Central Office administrators and no principals had favorable comments about what Ned Winter had done at Washington. Those areas that were particularly criticized included parent control of teacher selection and evaluation and student discipline.

Given what has been said about the differences in organizational structure and philosophy between the River City and the Jackson County school systems, it is clear that the loss of Superintendent Baldwin and the merger of the two systems constituted a crisis of major proportions for Washington. Almost every theme that has been documented at Washington over the past year has, in one way or another, been related to Washington's efforts to put off or to resolve successfully that crisis.

Each time an attempt has been made to close Washington, the reason stated has been the condition of the physical plant and declining enrollment. However, Ned Winter, and everyone else who has been interviewed at Washington, appear to be convinced that the building is an excuse and the real reasons for wanting Washington closed have to do with parent control and the educational program. The validity of these viewpoints is difficult to assess, and both may be true.* Part of Washington's building, it will be recalled, is 104 years old and is, at least visually, in poor condition.

*Generally, articles appearing in the River City Courier-Journal and the River City Times from the fall of 1975 through the fall of 1976 have been strongly in support of Washington's position on the issue.

However, a large part of the school building is only slightly more than 20 years old. On the other hand, it is quite clear that neither Neighborhood School Boards nor "open" education are consistent with the way things are done in the Jackson County system. Given the fact that both contentions are plausible, the "real reason(s)" for attempts to close Washington is(are) known only to those who have initiated the actions.

The first attempt to close Washington, presumably because of declining enrollment and the condition of the physical plant, occurred in April of 1974. Winter and Dole (1975) have described what happened when the school was notified that it would not be opened when the 1974-1975 school year began in September 1974. They reported that the decision was reversed by the Superintendent as a "mistake" when he was presented with a letter containing "several factors we believe valid for continuation of the educational process set in motion at Washington", and a petition containing 2,000 names collected by a group of Washington students.

Until March of 1976, Washington's efforts were devoted to developing ways to protect itself from the County system's attempted onslaught. The efforts included attempts to gain outside funds to operate Washington Community School as a demonstration project (a special classification that would exempt them from the close authority of the County) and getting Washington assigned the status of "alternative" school within the system by the Jackson County system (another classification that would exempt them from stringent control). At the same time, the principal and the staff continued to run Washington's program with as few changes as possible.

Attempts to create a community school at Washington appear to have started in November 1974. According to the IEC logs for that month,

The principal introduced the concept of creating a community school if the local school district merged with the County system. The Washington Neighborhood School Board (WNSB) began meeting to determine what this would mean, where the funds would come from and how to proceed.

The TAG's logs for December 1974 indicate that "WNSB began to act on the 'community school concept' and incorporated [Washington Community School, Inc.]. The process of writing proposals for funding began." By the time the site researcher arrived in May 1975, the proposal was finished. The day the researcher started work, the Washington staff was meeting with a representative of the Governor's office about funding the proposal. This meeting extended well into the night at Sally Baldwin's home. Our records indicate that extensive amounts of time were spent identifying and contacting sources that could fund all or part of the program, submitting proposals, following up on proposals, and reporting progress to the Neighborhood School Board. Among those contacted were the Rockefeller Foundation, the Mott Foundation, the Lincoln Foundation, NIE's program on community education, the State Department of Education, the Governor of the state, and the River City Department of Community Development. Apparently funding such a venture is extremely difficult. Only one of these proposals yielded funds. The River City Department of Community Development gave Washington \$40,000 to fund a mini-bus and to renovate a house for a parent released time center and for other projects.

The issue of Neighborhood School Boards surfaced in Washington's August 1975 workshop when staff members asked about the status of NSBs in the merged system. Ned Winter said that the NSBs had no formal status but would operate at Washington as long as he was there through his delegation of

authority. After that meeting, Ned Winter, Will Bosewell, and Charity Williams met with some members of other NSBs to attempt to form a coalition to maintain NSBs underground if necessary. The coalition never came to much, and before long Washington's was the only NSB in operation. The first real problem came when the Jackson County Board of Education did not consider, let alone hire, the teachers who had been previously screened and recommended by the WNSB. It was said that because of the desegregation order all teachers had to be assigned by the Central Office. When the WNSB attempted to screen the newly assigned teachers, they received a verbal warning and a letter which stated that they could not do this but could have a "get acquainted session with the new teachers."

On November 11, 1975, the WNSB had invited the new Superintendent, James Whitehall, the Deputy Superintendent for Instruction (who at that time was Mr. Knowles), and Ralph Rose, who had been Acting Superintendent of the City schools between the time Dr. Baldwin left and the time that the merger occurred, to attend a WNSB meeting, the purpose of which was to get acquainted with each other. Only Ralph Rose came to the meeting. He stayed only long enough to apologize for the other two men who could not make the meeting, and to warn the WNSB that the Jackson County Board of Education would be considering the issue of NSBs shortly. He said that representatives should be present at the next meeting of the Jackson County Board of Education to speak in favor of NSBs. Washington sent representatives, and they spoke.

On January 30, 1976, however, the Jackson County Board of Education voted to support a proposal by Superintendent Whitehall that PTAs, not NSBs, would be the only recognized representatives of parents in the Jackson County school system. The Board reversed themselves, however, after a group

of state legislators (all from Jackson County) issued a statement saying this position was unfair and that no single group should be given the exclusive right to represent parents. According to Ned Winter, the whole issue was intended to put Washington out of commission, since it had the only NSB operating in the county. Ned Winter also intimated that he had a part in the legislators' issuing their statement on the issue. Shortly afterward, Dr. Winter met with NIE personnel in Washington, D.C., along with Lee Dole, Pearl Monroe, Phyllis Hamilton, Charity Williams, and Will Bosewell. At this point, NIE put Ned Winter in contact with Mike Carrington of the National Committee on Citizens in Education (NCCE), a group promoting parents' rights to involve themselves in schools. The possibility was discussed that NCCE might support Washington in bringing suit against the Jackson County Board of Education if the NSB was threatened again. We will return to the question of the PTA versus the NSB in the next section of this paper.

Within the Jackson County system there are several schools that are given the status of special schools. As a special school, Washington believed that it would be given autonomy to operate as it had been, and would be exempt from Jackson County Board of Education policies. Some of the schools having special status in the Jackson County system include the Green School, the Imaginative School, the Second School, and several "traditional" schools which were in the planning stage at that time.

In December 1975, Ned Winter and some parents met with Deputy Superintendent for Instruction Knowles to apply formally for special school status. They appeared to be encouraged by their reception. Mr. Knowles

retired shortly after this meeting, and nothing was heard for some time about Washington's request for special school status -- the request was never acted on.

During the winter of 1975 and early spring of 1976, rumors became increasingly frequent at Washington that the Jackson County Board of Education would close Washington. On March 16, 1976, Ned Winter told this writer that the die had been cast, and Washington would probably be closed. He said that the condition of the building and declining enrollment would be cited as the reasons. "But we both know," he said, "that this is not the real reason. It is our philosophy." Dr. Winter said that he had been told by Mr. Knowles that more Central Office hours were devoted to Washington than to any other school in the County.

On March 27, 1976, Ned Winter and four other principals were told that their schools would be closed at the end of the school year. The members of the TAG were privy to these conversations but were not allowed to tell their staff or others. Thus began a sixty-day effort to keep an ideal alive. It is impossible in an account of this nature and length to portray accurately the magnitude of the effort expended by staff, parents, community people, and students on Washington's behalf. These people attended strategy meetings from early morning to late at night, wrote letters, contacted influential people, gave television and newspaper interviews, appeared on talk shows, made phone calls, and the teachers among them worked a full day teaching at the school. During this period, overall strategy was worked out primarily by Ned Winter with the aid of the three TAG members, but the strategy was approved step-by-step by the NSB. One of the principles of the strategy was that Ned Winter would not mind if the school was closed by the County if it would be possible to maintain a community school at Washington.

There were three successive goals: first, to work out a compromise with Superintendent Whitehall and the administrators; if that failed, to attempt to convince the elected School Board to vote against Superintendent Whitehall's recommendation; and finally, if that failed, to attempt to convince Federal Judge Peter Armstrong not to accept the School Board's proposal. Legal counsel was obtained early, but there was a decision to hold off on legal action until after the Jackson County Board of Education voted on closing the schools, in order to leave open the possibility of compromise.

On March 29, 1976, Will Bosewell, Charity Williams, and Ned Winter got permission from the new Deputy Superintendent for Instruction to go to Washington to renegotiate the NIE contract. After a strategy session involving Norm Gross, Louis Golding, and others from NIE, Louis Golding returned to River City with the three people who had gone to Washington. On March 30, 1976, Louis Golding, Paul Lennon, Charity Williams, and Ned Winter met with Superintendent Whitehall, the Deputy Superintendent, and the Deputy Superintendent for Finance, Personnel, Buildings, and Grounds. An alternative to the complete closing of Washington that NIE would accept was presented at this meeting. The proposal consisted of three parts: 1) keep Headstart, Kindergarten, and first grade students at Washington, 2) send several Washington teachers to Adams Elementary School with Washington students, and 3) house some vocational and adult education classes in the Washington building. Dr. Winter and the members of the TAG said that Mr. Whitehall responded favorably to their alternative. But at the staff meeting on April 5, Dr. Winter said that the NIE-supported proposal had been turned down by the administration without comment.

On April 5, 1976, Superintendent Whitehall presented his proposal for closing the schools at a working session of the Jackson County Board of Education. At the same time, the news was broken to the Washington staff by Ned Winter after the children went home for the day. There seemed to be little surprise on the part of the staff. Their reaction was to think of ways to stop the closing. The Washington NSB met to discuss possible strategy. Then Charity Williams returned from the meeting of the Jackson County Board of Education and indicated that, as she read it, the Board would probably vote to follow the Superintendent's recommendation. That evening a strategy session was held at Ned Winter's house until late into the evening and Jim Martin, an attorney, was present to discuss possible legal action. The next day, April 6, 1976, many Washington parents and community members met in the Washington cafeteria to discuss the school's closing. The meeting was very heated, and there was strong opposition to closing the school -- one more governmental institution among those that had been closed in Fishtown during recent months.

The next major event was a meeting of the WNSB on April 6, 1976 at which Ned Winter presented a new proposal to be made to the Superintendent, and a decision was made to ask Legal Aid attorneys to represent them in any legal action. The proposal included Washington Neighborhood School Board's buying or renting the school and the Jackson County Board of Education's renting space back for programs (remaining funds to be obtained from other sources). Present NIE funds would be used at Washington and at Adams Elementary School, and Ned Winter would resign from the Jackson County school system to work full-time for the Washington Community School, Incorporated.

The attorneys said that it would be necessary first to get a public meeting on school closings so that a written record could be developed for legal use. The WNSB voted to ask Legal Aid to represent them.

A meeting between Washington community members and members of the Jackson County Board of Education and the Central Office was arranged for April 19, 1976 by Pearl Monroe, President of the WNSB. The meeting was held in the cafeteria at Washington, which was packed with people. Little was accomplished. The Superintendent told the group the reasons he had for closing the school and that he was sorry that the community was taking it so hard. The people (staff, parents, community members) got a chance to vent emotions. At the end of the meeting, Jackson County Board of Education member Marian Laing said that the vote would be 9 to 3 in favor of closing all the schools if the vote were held that day. The meeting was attended by a representative of Mayor Altman's office, a River City Alderman, and a member of the State Legislature. All of these people spoke in favor of keeping the schools open.

On April 22, 1976, the Jackson County Board of Education held an open meeting on the proposed closing of five schools. The meeting, held at the DeQuincy Center, was regulated by strict procedures set up in advance. Most of the audience supported Washington's cause. Washington gave a well prepared and highly polished presentation, including a speech by a parent, a teacher, and the Chairperson of the WNSB. When the teacher mentioned that two nationally known education experts were in the audience, Dr. Ralph Perkins of the University of Maysville, and Dr. Charles Smythe of the University of London, these experts were asked to speak. Both gave enthusiastic presentations in favor of Washington. Ralph Perkins, who had been a consultant for Washington for several years, described the changes

that he had seen in the parent who had given such a fine presentation to the Board. He said that when he first met this person, she would not even make a statement of opinion to close friends. Doctors Smythe and Perkins were asked to stay after the meeting to be available to talk with Board members. The important outcome of this meeting was that Board Member M. L. Birge began to favor Washington's staying open, despite the fact that he personally disliked much of what was going on at the school. Mr. Birge started telephoning Ned Winter, as well as many others in the school system, to get their opinions of Washington.

Increasingly vocal opposition to the closing of four of the five schools started to develop. Most of the 12 schools closed the previous year had been city schools; the same was true for four of the five schools to be closed at the end of the current year. The local television and newspapers, the Mayor, the County Judge, several State Legislators from local districts, and city aldermen questioned the process by which schools had been selected for closing as well as the wisdom of closing Washington, a naturally integrated community school, when a massive desegregation plan was being implemented to achieve the same results. Washington constantly provided information to these people and pressed them for support. Going into the vote on the issue of school closing, there were five members of the former city Board of Education being pressured to attempt to save all of the former city schools. At the same time, Board member M. L. Birge had decided to vote to keep Washington open but to vote to close the other four schools. From Washington's viewpoint, it was assumed that Board members would move to vote on each school separately rather than in a block. With such a method, it appeared that there were sufficient votes to stop, or to delay the closing of Washington.

The vote on the Superintendent's proposed school closing was taken on April 26, 1976. A crowd filled the meeting room and the foyer. The Washington supporters were optimistic and made comments to this researcher about the wild celebration that would be held that evening. After preliminary speeches on the issue by members of the audience, including one person speaking in favor of closing Washington, it was time to vote. As was expected, M. L. Birge made a motion to vote separately on each school. However, none of the former city Board members seconded Mr. Birge's motion. The vote came very rapidly; six members voted to close the schools, five voted against the school closings, and one member, M. L. Birge, abstained. Thus, the Board voted in favor of closing the schools. The Washington parents left in tears, and the Legal Aid attorneys called their office to get ready to go to Court. There was much speculation around Washington about why M. L. Birge's motion had not been seconded. There was hope that things were not as bad as they appeared.

That evening there was a legal strategy session and a "wake" held at Ned Winter's house. The phone rang off the hook all evening. It soon became clear that the city Board members had made a strategic error. Despite the fact that M. L. Birge had said repeatedly that he would vote only to keep Washington open, the city Board members thought that he would vote to keep all of the schools open rather than see Washington closed. They gambled and lost.

Attention now switched to Federal Judge Peter Armstrong, who would have to approve the proposed school closings before they could occur, because the closings affected the County's desegregation plan. Judge Armstrong's court became the target of a letter-writing campaign which focused on Washington's status as a naturally integrated school. On April 30, 1976, a group of

19 plaintiffs filed a motion in Federal Court to intervene in the desegregation case. The plaintiffs included four members of the School Board (members of the former city School Board), Mayor Alex Altman, Alderman Walter Paine, and parents of children in the four city schools to be closed. The motion was drafted and signed by eight attorneys, including Joshua Dubow, attorney for the former River City Board of Education, Michael Caruso, attorney for Mayor Altman, and five Legal Aid attorneys. The motion to intervene was based upon several contentions. It was asserted that Superintendent Whitehall planned to close all inner-city schools by 1980, thus requiring one-way busing of Blacks to the suburbs. It was asserted that the decision involved several violations of the Constitution, such as the lack of ascertainable standards, insufficient data, and the fact that schools were not voted on separately. The motion contended that Washington should not be closed, because it was a naturally integrated school, and the other three schools should not be closed, because that would force Black children to bear a disproportionate burden of the desegregation mandate.

On May 3, 1976, Judge Armstrong denied the motion to intervene by the plaintiffs, because there were already too many parties involved and because he already understood the issues. On May 4, 1976, Judge Armstrong chastised the elected Board and administrators for misleading him all along. He appointed a committee to redraw a desegregation plan meeting the Court's guidelines. Judge Armstrong also disallowed the closing of the five schools until such time as the committee reported back to him. The Judge left open the possibility that he might allow the schools to be closed later, if this could be done, while at the same time implementing the most efficient and effective desegregation plan.

Needless to say, Washington staff, parents, community members, and friends were jubilant at Judge Armstrong's decision. They felt confident that Washington would be assured of another full year of operation. On June 4, 1976, Washington parents held a dinner party in honor of all of the people who had helped keep their school open. The dinner was held in the Emerald Ballroom of the Green Education Center and received good television and newspaper coverage.

Ned Winter and his Neighborhood School Board immediately seized the initiative in contacting the desegregation committee, headed by Ralph Rose, who was appointed by Judge Armstrong. The purpose of the contact was to persuade the committee to recommend special school status for Washington.

Ned Winter was encouraged by the committee's reception, and several documents were prepared for the committee's use. The committee ultimately declined to make a recommendation on behalf of Washington, saying that they did not feel it was within the Court's mandate to the group.

Through the summer of 1976, things looked fairly good for Washington and the school turned to more normal operations. Ned Winter indicated on several occasions that the State Fire Marshal's office was beginning to come down hard on the condition of the school building. He said, however, that this was a new strategy by the Central Office that would backfire and that the Jackson County Board of Education would have to repair the building. Then, on Friday, September 3, 1976, came the news -- Judge Peter Armstrong had given the Jackson County Board of Education permission to close Washington at the end of the present quarter (November 1976) because of nine safety code violations discovered by the State Fire Marshal's office. Washington was immediately impelled into action to reverse the decision: "What legal action is possible? Can we raise the money to make the needed

repairs?" On Saturday, September 18, 1976, a "fire sale" was held at the school, and \$18,000 was raised or pledged.

In late September 1976, Washington received at least a temporary reprieve. The Central Office had completed plans to move students and faculty from Washington. The plan was changed by Judge Armstrong after Mayor Alex Altman informed the Judge that funds for repairing Washington would probably be available under a Federal Public Works bill awaiting President Ford's signature. Judge Armstrong relieved School Board members of the liability in case of a fire at Washington and asked Mayor Altman to try to get funds to renovate Washington.

Three major events occurred during the spring and summer of 1977, which are of importance to the continued existence of Washington Elementary School. These events were: the beginning of the renovation of Washington's physical plant by the Jackson County school system; the voting down by the Jackson County Board of Education of a third proposal for optional school status for Washington; and Dr. Ned Winter's resignation as principal of Washington Elementary School.

When Federal Judge Peter Armstrong announced in the fall of 1976 that he would not allow the Jackson County Board of Education to close Washington School, the Judge made it clear that the reprieve would be temporary unless funds were located to bring the building up to the level of the State's fire code standards. In the spring of 1977, the Jackson County Board of Education did receive sufficient Federal Public Works monies to begin renovation of the school. By mid-June 1977 work on the building was in full swing: concrete fire walls were being constructed to separate sections of the building, steel fire doors were placed in each room doorway, open staircases were enclosed and equipped with fire doors, the ceilings were lowered, and

the building's electrical system was being rewired. Although the renovation of the school does not rule out the school's being closed on grounds other than the building's condition, the chance of the closing appears to be unlikely.

On February 14, 1977, Washington began a third effort to obtain optional or alternative school status for the school. This time a proposal was formally presented to the Jackson County Board of Education. The Board recommended that the Optional School Committee study the proposal and report its findings back to the Jackson County Board of Education. On March 7, 1977, the Optional School Committee recommended that Washington not be included among the group of schools given optional school status, because Washington did not meet the criteria that had been developed for such schools. The Jackson County Board of Education voted to uphold the Optional School Committee's recommendation; and, in a second vote, told Washington to continue to operate as it had in the past. A few days later, Dr. Winter told this writer that the vote had gone exactly as he had planned it. According to Dr. Winter,

Washington would now be more difficult to close or to change than any school in the system, because a two-thirds majority vote (rather than a simple majority vote) would be required to overturn the Board's vote for the school to continue as it had in the past.

A third event may have the greatest long term implications for Washington's survival. In the spring of 1977, Ned Winter announced his intention to resign as principal of Washington Elementary School. In July of 1977, Dr. Winter submitted his resignation and a new principal, Matthew Pincus, was assigned on July 27, 1977. Dr. Winter's reasons for resigning, as communicated to this writer, were that he was tired of fighting the Central Office, that he needed more time for himself and his family, and that

it was time for the NSB to get along without him. The choice of the new principal was made solely by the Central Office and must be approved by the Jackson County Board of Education. The Washington Neighborhood School Board's attempts to be involved in the selection of a new principal were rejected. However, the principal chosen was one of the three people who were acceptable to Ned Winter and to the WNSB. As it turned out, Matthew Pincus was the only person to apply for the position.

The story of Washington's attempt to remain open without major modifications in its program appears to have been particularly interesting to readers of earlier drafts of this case study. Several readers have said that they have observed similar efforts by schools that were being closed by a Central Office. In each of these cases, however, the schools ultimately lost their fight and were closed. Why did Washington's staff and community members succeed in keeping the school open when other schools have failed at the same task? Since the writer has not studied the behavior of other schools in similar circumstances, any answer to the question is highly conjectural.

However, three interrelated variables appear to have been largely responsible for the fact that Washington is still operating as a school. These variables were: the nature of the school, the Federal Court's desegregation order, and Ned Winter's ability to collect and use politically information about the school district. To an observer, the two salient features of Washington are: 1) its unique educational program, and 2) the fact that a group with heterogeneous socioeconomic and ethnic backgrounds have made considerable progress in working together collaboratively. These factors alone did not keep Washington open, and may have been largely responsible for attempts to close the school in the first place. The fact

that the Jackson County school system was under a Federal Court order to desegregate its schools was important because: 1) The actions of the County's elected Board of Education were subject to the review and approval of Federal Judge Peter Armstrong and 2) Racial desegregation of school districts and communities was the goal of the Federal Court order. The Federal Judge did overturn the Board of Education's decision to close Washington, and he did so because what was going on at Washington approximated the goal of the desegregation order that he was charged with enforcing. However, Judge Armstrong did not come to this decision unaided or uninfluenced. Dr. Ned Winter was largely responsible for developing and orchestrating the effort to convince the Federal Judge, and others in power, that it was a contradiction to spend millions of dollars to integrate racially the Jackson County schools while not making every effort to save a school that was a model of "natural integration."

Conflicts between Washington and Elements of Its Community

Washington's program, both its community emphasis and its educational philosophy, has not been universally accepted by those people who live in the district. One of the problems that the school has been forced to deal with has been how to get along with individuals and organizations within the community that disagree with some aspect of the Washington program. During the time that Washington has been fighting to remain open, a time when a school needs all the community support it can get, the problem has been even more important. As was previously mentioned, Washington is located within the Fishtown area of River City. The neighborhood is a close-knit community that has demonstrated a high level of social and political activity in improving the area. Typically, people in the community appear to be

relatively conservative and straitlaced. Some of the bases for opposition to Washington appear to be: 1) The principal and certified staff do not reside in the Fishtown community and are, therefore, seen as outsiders. 2) The dress and language of the professional staff are typical of the 1960s counterculture and have resulted in some community members labeling them "Hippies and Communists." 3) Washington's humanistic or open-education philosophy has been interpreted by some community members as permissiveness.

During the time that DTA documentation occurred at Washington, two types of conflict with the community were noted. Unfortunately, the extensive amount of time spent in documenting Washington's attempt to remain open restricted the amount of time that could be spent researching the area. The two types of conflict to be discussed are -- conflict between Washington and the Fishtown Development Organization members, and conflict between Washington and a group of dissident parents.

Resolution of the Conflict between the Fishtown Development Organization and Washington

When documentation began at Washington, it was clear that Washington and members of the Fishtown Development Organization were not getting along well. The Fishtown Development Organization is a coalition made up of a member of each of the organizations in the Fishtown area. They had objected to Washington's receiving money from the Mayor's Community Development Office and to their large community-school proposal. The objections to the Mayor's funding of a program at Washington appear to have resulted from the fact that Washington did not clear or discuss with the Fishtown Development Organization the items to be funded by the Mayor. This perceived slight led

to an unsuccessful attempt by the Fishtown Development Organization members to stop the funding through the application of political pressure. As a result of the conflict, Washington tried to keep the community-school proposal secret, in order to keep the Fishtown Development Organization from blocking that proposal as well. Therefore, what members of this organization heard about the proposal was secondhand and people criticized the proposal as being an attempt to introduce "Socialism" to Fishtown (i.e., an attempt to take care of people's needs from the cradle to the grave). They cited such aspects of the proposal as medical care, free meals, and housing assistance.

During the school year of 1975-1976, the Washington Neighborhood School Board (WNSB) tried to resolve these difficulties and to lessen the Fishtown Development Organization's resistance to Washington's activities. At the start of the year, a member of the NSB was elected to attend the Fishtown Development Organization's meetings and to report back about them. A number of times, Washington's NSB wrote letters on projects of total community concern, such as keeping the community hospital open.

On March 25, 1976, members of Washington and the Fishtown area organizations met in an effort to resolve some of their conflicts. The meeting seemed to be a success, and all but one of the Fishtown area leaders seemed to develop more trust in Washington. One Washington staff member evaluated the outcome of the meeting in the following way,

At the meeting, we shared information and became more knowledgeable about what everyone is doing in the community. I think they realize that we care and that we are doing positive things to work with this community.

After the announcement that Washington was to be closed, the Fishtown area group gave complete support to the effort to keep the school open. The members called the Mayor's Hotline, signed petitions, and contacted various

political and School Board leaders. Leaders in the Fishtown area saw Washington's closure as one more in a series of government's elimination of services to the people of Fishtown. The Fishtown Review devoted an entire issue to the closing of Washington and its adverse effects. Members of the Fishtown Development Organization attended the April 19, 1976 meeting at Washington, where members of the Jackson County Board of Education and several of the Board's administrators defended the closing of Washington.

At the special NSB meeting on April 6, 1976, when Ned Winter outlined his new proposal to be submitted to Superintendent Whitehall, the possible effects of opposition to that proposal by members of the Fishtown Development Organization were considered. Part of the proposal required that Washington attempt to get substantial amounts of funding from the Governor's office or the Mayor's office. Any opposition to Washington's proposal was seen by Ned Winter as a political excuse for the Governor or the Mayor or both not to support it. Although Dr. Winter was afraid to let Washington's proposal out at this critical point, he suggested that a meeting be called where several members of the WNSB would explain the proposal and attempt to get community support for it. Ned Winter said, "Sometimes you have to trust your enemies."

Thus, over the past year, Washington has attempted to reduce some of the hostility to its program by meeting with, and working with the hostile group and by enlisting its cooperation. As a by-product of Washington's gaining the support of these groups, Washington incurred some debts to these groups. After Washington found that it was going to remain open, some community members came to Washington to ask support for their causes. It is

interesting to note that the leaders usually made it clear that Washington owed them some assistance by starting their conversation with a review of what the person's organization and the person himself had done to help keep Washington open. Then the person made his request.

The Conflict between Washington and the Dissident Parents

When Washington's boundaries were changed as a part of the desegregation plan, some students were transferred to Washington from Taft and Woodburn-Tenent Schools. These schools were very different from Washington; they had a mixture of traditional and token-economy classrooms. When, in January 1976, a small group of Black parents showed up at Washington with some complaints about what was going on there, it was interesting to see how these complaints would be resolved. It is not clear whether the parents came on their own or whether they were sent by the District PTA President to cause problems for Washington as a part of the battle over whether NSBs would be recognized or not. Ned Winter maintains that if they were not sent by the PTA, they were, in fact, manipulated by the PTA to attempt to cause problems for Washington. The spokesperson for the group did not have children at Washington.

After the parents came to Washington to visit, they complained about the dirtiness of the school, the dress of the teachers, and the lack of student discipline. They tried to formulate a room-mothers' program. Dr. Winter insisted that they work through the PTA and the NSB, but the parents insisted that they would work directly only with the principal. At this point, Beth Talley, the spokesperson, said that she would contact the Jackson County Board of Education's Human Relations Office. She was put in contact with Ms. Helen Gray, a Human Relations Specialist, and with

Ms. Connie Stone, the 15th District PTA President, who interceded at Washington in Mrs. Talley's behalf. The parents' group and Ms. Stone and Ms. Gray met with the Washington PTA. Mrs. Talley said, in a conversation with Mrs. Patty Lane, the Inside Documenter for the IEC project, that,

Mrs. Stone decided that we wouldn't accomplish anything there, so she called Whitehall and the maintenance people about going to visit Washington. I also called Foxe and Lestein (Jackson County Board members) to talk with them about going on a tour.

On February 26, 1976, the Superintendent, along with the two Board of Education members, members of the Human Relations Department, and members of the Maintenance Department did tour Washington with Beth Talley and her group of dissident parents. Ned Winter and the staff and the NSB parents were irate at this tour, since nobody asked anything of the people at Washington, and because the Superintendent had failed to show up at Washington when invited by the NSB parents. Dr. Winter was particularly angry over what he perceived as the Human Relations Department's advocacy for Mrs. Talley's group and their failure to try to work out a solution by functioning as a neutral party. He filed a formal complaint against the Human Relations Department.

On March 16, 1976, Dr. Winter told the River City site researcher that he, Ned Winter, was not concerned about Beth Talley, because she represented no constituency but was being used as a pawn by the Human Relations Department. When asked why Dr. Winter thought this was so, he responded that the Human Relations Department is filled with former county and state PTA presidents, and they, "are out to get us because of our strong Neighborhood School Board."

On April 20, 1976, Beth Talley appeared on a television talk show in River City to argue in favor of Washington's being closed. After

Mrs. Talley appeared on the show, Doris Grossman, the television show's hostess, called Washington to inform them of Beth Talley's appearance and to ask if someone would like to appear on the show to reply to Mrs. Talley's comments. Mrs. Grossman said that she did not know that Mrs. Talley was going to "rant and rave" so much when she (Mrs. Grossman) was contacted by Ms. Stone to set up Mrs. Talley's appearance. Ned Winter immediately tried to find a way to get evidence in writing from Mrs. Grossman of this intervention by Connie Stone, who Dr. Winter said, was both an employee of the Human Relations Department and the 15th District PTA President. Ned Winter said his attorneys later got such a confirmation letter from the television studio after much haggling with the studio's attorneys.

On April 26, 1976, Beth Talley spoke at the Jackson County Board of Education's meeting where the vote on the school closing was to be taken. Mrs. Talley said that Washington should be closed because it was dirty and the staff was incompetent, and she said also that it should be closed because the NSB had too much power, and nobody could work directly with the principal without working through the NSB. The same day, the children of the dissident parents' group were transferred back to Taft School to protect them from possible repercussions from Mrs. Talley's appearance against Washington.

On May 21, 1976, Ned Winter gave the site researcher a copy of a letter dated March 1976 which was sent by the 15th District PTA to Superintendent Whitehall. A copy of the letter was sent to all PTAs except Washington's, according to Ned Winter. And, although Washington is not mentioned in the letter by name, a person who was at a meeting on February 25, 1976, which resulted in the letter's being sent said Washington was the only school

discussed at the meeting. The substance of the letter is contained in the first paragraph:

The 15th District Board of Managers is deeply concerned over the continuing policy-making operation of the Neighborhood School Boards, and the full involvement and support given these boards by their principals in the schools in which they exist. We feel that this is in violation of (state) statutes and should be stopped immediately.

It should be noted that the date of the 15th District PTA's resolution to ask the Superintendent to restrict the power of the NSBs (February 25, 1976) was the day before the Superintendent and others inspected Washington (February 26, 1976). That fact tends to support Ned Winter's notion that the group of dissident parents was being used as a pawn to assist the PTA's aim of eliminating NSBs. Thus, it is not clear whether the chain of events that ended with the dissident parents' appearance at the Jackson County Board of Education meeting to speak in favor of closing Washington could ever have been stopped, short of forcing Washington to give up the very essence of its programs. It also cannot be concluded that the dissident parents would not have acted in the same manner if the PTA and Human Relations people had not been involved. However, it does seem that the PTA did use the conflict to serve its own ends.

The Role of the Principal in Promoting Collaborative Problem-Solving in a School

The differences in style between the principal at Jensen and the principal at Washington could possibly shed some light on the specific methods that principals use to promote or discourage collaborative problem-solving among their staffs. For this reason, it was planned that some considerable time would be spent following and observing the two

principals. Unfortunately, for the same reason that has been stated a number of times before, these observations did not occur in any depth. We do have some evidence of the differences in style between these two principals. It is clear that the Jensen principal neither wants nor allows collaborative problem-solving in her school. Mrs. Johnson said in one interview that she likes input from others when there is a decision to be made but feels the decision should be made by her because she has to live with it. She said that one-fourth of her staff felt she was making too many decisions without their input, and, at first, she let it ride, pushed people aside who were in her way, and worked around them. She did this until two months prior to an interview with our research assistant, when she decided that she would have to confront the issue. Unless there are some extraordinary differences between the principal's espoused way of working and the actuality, it is clear that she does not promote collaboration and probably does not tolerate it.

At Washington, on the other hand, Ned Winter has repeatedly said that the decision-making of the school resides in the elected staff members and parents of the Neighborhood School Board. And he has continued to promote this policy despite the strong opposition to it at the Central Office level. He brought up the idea of the community school as a method of circumventing the loss of the NSB and has worked tirelessly to make the community school a reality.

Our limited data seem to support Dr. Winter's contention that decision-making has become more collaborative since he has been principal of Washington Elementary School. Prior to Dr. Winter's arrival, the school's administration and management were the unshared responsibility of the

principal. Teachers seldom left their classrooms, and, reportedly, they did not cooperate on educational tasks. When parents came to the school, they came for parent-teacher conferences, PTA meetings, or other PTA-sponsored events. At that time there was a Neighborhood School Board, but the group existed in name only. One informant, who was a member of the Washington Neighborhood School Board prior to Dr. Winter's arrival, said that the group had no by-laws, received no information from the principal, and seldom held meetings. Those meetings that were held, involved the group's assisting the teachers in the task of ordering textbooks.

During the past two years, this writer has often attended meetings in which parents, community residents, and staff members (including the principal) sat down together to make decisions about the school. The operation of this Neighborhood School Board is governed by written by-laws drawn up by an attorney in the form of articles of incorporation. The Board which is composed of 18 members includes six parents, six community residents, and six staff members. An annual election is held in which three parents, three community residents, and three staff members are elected at large to fill two year terms. Meetings of the WNSB are scheduled to be held twice a month; however, such meetings are usually held more frequently. Often the members of the Neighborhood School Board meet away from the school for the entire weekend to conduct "personal growth" or "task oriented" workshops. At such meetings, important issues are discussed, and proposals are made and voted on. Generally speaking, the school's activities appear to correspond to the decisions made by the WNSB.

If one were to attend only to the school's verbal and written rhetoric about the school's decision-making process, one would conclude that Dr. Winter is simply one more member of the WNSB, and that the group often makes

decisions which differ from those that Dr. Winter would make on his own. On the same basis, one would conclude that Dr. Winter often allows the group to adopt a position which he knows will not achieve the group's goal because, "people learn and grow from their mistakes." Such rhetoric is probably to be expected from a highly cohesive group and probably serves to legitimize the group's activities within the school and its community. However, it appears to this writer that Dr. Winter has not only allowed, encouraged, and protected collaborative decision-making at Washington, but that he has taken an active role in determining the nature of the decisions made by the WNSB.

Several kinds of observations suggest that Dr. Winter has played a central role in influencing the nature of the decisions which are made by the Neighborhood School Board. First, one is struck by the fact that there is almost perfect correspondence between Dr. Winter's philosophy of education, developed prior to his assignment to Washington, and the major features of Washington's educational program. By training, Dr. Winter is a counseling psychologist who has been influenced by the writings of Dr. Carl Rogers and by the Humanistic Psychology movement in general. Washington's principal is much more interested in "affective education" than he is in "cognitive education". Dr. Winter has also argued that inner-city education has failed because it attempts to work only with the children and only during a few hours of the day. A successful inner-city school must provide substantial educational and social services to the whole community, and such a school must mobilize the community's resources in the process of educating its children. Washington is a school where parents and staff frequently attend "personal growth" workshops, where projects which are supposed to benefit the community are developed and implemented, and where parents and

community residents are actively involved in the education of children. In this context it is interesting to note that Dr. Winter has reported that most parents are more oriented toward "basic skill" teaching in the classroom than he is, but he says that this orientation is less true now than when he became principal.

A second kind of data suggesting that there is a high correspondence between Dr. Winter's point of view, and decisions made by the WNSB can be found in the fact that very few instances can be cited in which WNSB members voted on a course of action opposed by him. Only two such instances have been reported in the school's writings. On one occasion, the WNSB voted to close the school to have a party despite opposition by the principal, the Central Office, and the State Board of Education. On another occasion, the WNSB voted to hire two teachers despite the principal's objections. During the two years that this writer observed the activities of the group, he sometimes noted opposition to Dr. Winter's point of view, but he does not recall an instance in which the WNSB voted against Dr. Winter when a specific proposal was voted on.

During the fall of 1976, TAG member Will Boswell and his assistant, Patty Lane, collected two types of data which further suggest that Dr. Winter played an important role in influencing the WNSB's decision-making activities. First, the TAG developed and administered a sociometric questionnaire which was designed to rank-order the five highest WNSB members along a number of positive dimensions. According to these data, other WNSB members consider Dr. Winter to be the most influential member of their group. In addition, Dr. Winter was rated as the most likely person that other WNSB members would contact for information about the WNSB and about

events outside the school and community, and for advice about a school-wide problem or a problem with another adult. In addition, the TAG also collected frequency data on the number of communications (several types were defined) sent and received by each WNSB member. These data, collected during the October and November 1976 WNSB meetings, indicate that Dr. Winter was the sender and receiver of far more communications than was any other WNSB member.

The data have been presented here to make the point that Dr. Winter is relatively more influential in the WNSB decision-making process than the school's equalitarian philosophy would suggest. That Dr. Winter should occupy such a position should not be surprising when considered on purely social and psychological grounds. He is the highest status person in the school as he has the titles of "Doctor" and "Principal" and he is seen as the leader of the school by most outsiders. Dr. Winter is the controller of significant resources such as information about education, management, and political issues and procedures. The principal is highly skilled in group dynamics, political activity, and parliamentary procedures. With respect to other members of the WNSB, Dr. Winter is the definer of what collaborative decision-making means, and he is the WNSB's trainer in such activities.

Apparently, Dr. Winter made his decision to resign as Washington's principal, effective at the end of the 1976-1977 school year, sometime during the fall of 1976. Although Dr. Winter has said that his primary reason for submitting his resignation was because he was tired of fighting the Central Office, he has also suggested that another reason for his resignation was that it was time for the WNSB to learn to get along without him. During the spring of 1977, Dr. Winter became much less involved with the

WNSB's operation. This gradual withdrawal appears to have been an effort to make the loss of his influence felt in a less traumatic fashion. During this period of time, Dr. Winter sometimes failed altogether to attend meetings; at other times, he left the meetings early in the evening. Such actions never occurred in the four previous years.

The data which have been presented suggest that the principals of the two target schools have behaved quite differently with respect to the development of collaborative decision-making. However, these data do not suggest that Dr. Winter's method of developing collaborative decision-making will have any longterm impact on Washington. Dr. Winter has always said that he planned to decrease gradually his involvement in the WNSB's operation as individuals developed sufficient skills to assume control. He has said that his ultimate goal was to have a school that was operated and staffed by the community and for the community. In Dr. Winter's absence, and in the presence of a new principal, one would expect a new power distribution to occur and that new methods of problem definition and solution would be developed. It seems quite possible that the WNSB will gradually cease to exist in Dr. Winter's absence.

CHAPTER IV: CROSS-SITE FOCI

In addition to studying each of the nine projects as a unique setting, DTA has attempted to look at a limited set of themes across all of the sites. These themes have been called "cross-site foci". The set of foci was developed by the entire Documentation Team in the spring of 1976. Of the ten cross-site foci developed by the Documentation Team, four were chosen by this researcher for study at the River City site. The four foci chosen to be studied were:

Focus 2 - Increasing decision-making by parents

Focus 4 - Improving uses of outside resources

Focus 7 - Follow-through to children

Focus 10 - Building collaborative school-community governance structures

The present chapter is devoted to a discussion of what has been learned about these foci. Foci 2 and 10 have been combined under the general topic of "Critical activities for parental participation"; the other two foci are discussed separately. As with the themes discussed in Chapter IV, the conflict between Washington and the Central Office over the closing of Washington seriously hampered the collection of data on the cross-site foci.

Critical Activities for Parental Participation

Washington is unique in terms of the number of parents who participate at the school and in terms of the range of activities in which they participate. Parents are involved in the traditional PTA activities such as conducting chili suppers and bingo games, holding cake sales, and other social and fund-raising events. Parents are also involved in driving a

mini-bus which is used by the community, working in the school office, and serving as paraprofessionals in the classrooms. Parents also play an important decision-making role at the school as members of the Neighborhood School Board and other temporary and permanent task forces, such as the workshop committee and the teacher evaluation committee.

The DTA project has shown more interest in parent participation at Washington than in any other aspect of the IEC project. DTA visitors have planned to attend Washington NSB meetings and have shown very little interest in visiting Jensen or in visiting with the TAG members. The principal reason for interest in parent participation appears to be the same as that spelled out by the TAG in their Phase I proposal, which was that broadly based collaborative decision-making would result in more people being committed to the success of a school and its programs and that this, in turn, would result in improved education for students. There appear to be two other reasons: first a commitment to the basic democratic ideology and second that parents are consumers of education and, therefore, have a right and obligation to know what product they are receiving, and also to influence its nature and delivery.

Just as increasing parent participation is seen as a solution to major educational problems, the method by which such participation is developed and maintained constitutes still another problem requiring a solution. Within the DTA project, one way of formulating the problem of building participation has been to ask the question, "What are the critical activities for developing and maintaining parent participation?" The notion of critical activities is basically to build a lattice or matrix that shows which events must occur before another set of events can occur. The matrix

notion would allow a technical assistance person who is attempting to build a collaborative problem-solving structure to have some notion of the steps to be taken next and, conversely, the steps not to take -- those that could impede movement toward the goal. It will not be possible, on the basis of the River City experience alone, to develop a completed matrix of critical activities. However, some interesting examples of what appear to be critical activities can be specified. In this section of the case study, some initial consideration about critical activities will be presented, which will be followed by some examples of what appear to be critical activities in the development of parent participation in River City.

Critical activities can occur at different organizational levels and can involve different groups of actors. In River City, the three major groups that were involved were: the school system, the local schools, and the parent population and community members. Initially, it was necessary to identify the level at which the interest in parent participation was originating; i.e., who was dissatisfied with present conditions and wanted to change them. It would also be necessary to know something about the history and current status of all three of these systems with respect to the question of parent participation in the schools. These types of information would tell us who was attempting to change whose behavior, and what the baseline conditions were at the particular school or school system. It was also probably important to determine precisely the kind of parent participation desired, for several reasons. First, there was no reason to assume that the critical activities necessary to develop one kind of participation were the same as those required to develop another kind. Sorting out the different kinds of participation would allow us to specify

Figure VII: Levels of Parent Participation

LEVEL		EXAMPLES
1	Participation through avoidance	Boycotts of school
2	Participation at home	Reading and reacting to general information sent home by school, and, to particular information about progress and problems of child. Discussing child's experience in school
3	Social participation	Attending chili suppers, bingo games, PTA meetings, and open house, crafts programs
4	Fund raising participation	Staffs chili suppers, bingo games, paper drives
5	In-school, non-classroom service	Lunchroom worker, mini-bus driver, receptionist, library aide, clerical worker
6	In-school, educational	Classroom paraprofessional, tutor
7	Participation in school decision-making and governance	Mini-board member, teacher selection task force member, teacher evaluation task force member

the special skill training that would be required, since what was desired was not merely participation but effective participation. Also, specifying more clearly what was meant by participation may indicate that some kinds of participation were indeed not desirable. It was also possible that such a delineation of kinds of participation may show that one type of participatory experience may be preferable to another form of experience in developing the potential for more highly skilled types of participation.

An attempt at developing a classification of kinds of participation is shown in Figure VII. The classification scheme ranks seven classes of participation in terms of degree of involvement with the school. As one moves from Level One to Level Seven, tasks become more complex and are less likely to be performed by parents. When the term "parent participation" is used in River City, Levels One and Two are usually not considered participation. Levels Three and Four are the functions typically performed by PTAs. Levels Five, Six, and Seven were the focus of attempts to increase parent participation in the schools.

In developing a set of critical activities, it will be helpful to differentiate between those activities critical to developing parent participation from those necessary to maintaining it. Much of the psychological literature on behavior change has indicated that one cannot automatically expect new kinds of behavior to continue after they have initially been implemented. We are familiar with the good idea that was implemented and then petered out.

At the River City site, actors at all three levels (system, local school, and parent-community) have been involved in critical activities at one time or another. Although participation at Levels Three through Seven

was generally encouraged in River City, the emphasis by Superintendent Baldwin and the emphasis at Washington were at Levels Six and Seven. The attempt to initiate Level Six and Level Seven kinds of participation originated at the District level and then spread to some subset of the River City schools. As the researcher understands it, parents were not pressing for that kind of participation and had to be recruited. Since the merger of the city and county systems, sanctions supporting parent participation have been withdrawn at the District level. Thus, the normal problems of maintaining parent participation must be worked out in the context of Central Office antagonism to Level Six and Level Seven parent participation.

Certain types of initiation and support activities at the Central Office level appear to have been necessary but not sufficient for the development of parent participation at Levels Six and Seven in the River City system. The fact that these activities were not sufficient in themselves is indicated by the failure of a number of schools in River City to develop these kinds of participation.

1. Superintendent Baldwin's initiation of building-level decision-making with parents included (Neighborhood School Boards)
2. River City Board of Education's delegation of decision-making powers to Neighborhood School Boards
3. Superintendent's provision of training (Human Relations Skill) and support to individual schools
4. Failure of concept of parent decision-making to be formalized in law
5. Central Office requirement of evidence of parental involvement in decisions about particular programs prior to funding of those programs
6. Superintendent's continuation of monitoring, support, and reinforcement of progress in the development of Neighborhood School Boards

Also, certain activities on the part of the local school principal and staff appear to have been necessary for the development and maintenance of parent participation at Levels Six and Seven.

7. Principal's strong backing of parent participation and recruitment of parents to participate
8. Principal's getting rid of teachers hostile to parental involvement in decision-making
9. Washington's Neighborhood School Board becomes a legal corporation with parents' roles and rights included as part of Articles of Incorporation
10. Slots available for participation at all levels and at different degrees of intensity. This availability allows entry participation at level comfortable to parent and compatible with present skills. Also provides on-the-job training (and observational learning) for participation at other levels.

The following quotation by a Washington parent illustrates this last point:

My life changed in the fall of 1972. I took the kids to school one morning and volunteered to work in the breakfast program. The people at Washington were so friendly to me, especially the principal, Ned Winter. They seemed to understand poor people, and that was something. When I was asked to run for the WNSB, I said I couldn't -- I didn't know enough. They said I could learn as I went along and now I've been here two years. The trip to [another state in the region] was a real experience for me. I work in the lunch room now and am proud to be a part of a school where someone cares what happens to parents on ADC and wants to help them help themselves. My whole life is worth living again and I love people at Washington. I feel like I'm a part of them and they are a part of me. I am now worth something. I'm secretary of the WNSB and Title I representative where I've made trips out of town to other schools. I couldn't have done this if it wasn't for how people made me feel as I am today. My children are proud of me now that they know I can do something besides keep house. I have met so many nice people who treat me like a human being. Thanks for a whole new life. (Winter & Dole, 1975)

11. Principal's carrying out of decisions made by Board despite Central Office pressure
 - a. Ned Winter closed down the school for a one-day party after the Neighborhood School Board voted to do this, despite Central Office pressure to keep school open. Principal says his action was critical because parents were testing his commitment.
 - b. In newly merged system, the principal continues to delegate authority to Neighborhood School Board despite being told not to do so by Central Office personnel.
12. Parent, staff, and community cohesion increased by weekend workshops
13. Faculty and staff praise and reward participation by parents. Instances of non-participation are pointed out, questioned, and verbally "punished"
14. Workshops are conducted for parent couples to work out family strains created or increased by intense participation by one of two parents in the family
15. Principal's continuing to press for parental participation in decision-making despite initial interest of only three parents and a very gradual increase in that number
16. Staff (certified teachers) regularly contribute from their own salaries to pay parents and community people who do volunteer work in the school
17. Proposal is written and funded to provide parent work-release center
18. Principal's initiation of search for external funding source to operate as private school so parent control could continue

Not much is known about critical activities at the parent and community level. One thing that seemed to have benefited Washington was the relatively high unemployment rate and the percentage of people receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). That fact gave many people a large amount of free time to devote to school activity. Given the same

effort at the District and local school levels, much less success might have been noted if a high percentage of the population were fully employed. Thus, economics and time may play an unexplored role. Ned Winter has also indicated that at some point the parents who were initially involved in decision-making need to test the system to determine if they were, indeed, allowed to make decisions before other people would involve themselves or before the people currently involved would continue their involvement. An example was found in the fact that the Neighborhood School Board voted to close down the school for one day to have a party, a decision in opposition to Ned Winter and to the District. If they had not been allowed to do this, then the lack of permission would have been interpreted as a sign that they could only make decisions with which everyone else agreed.

Improving the Use of Outside Resources

If one were to use content analysis on data from the IEC project, one would probably find that the most frequent class of data was related to the use of outside resources. For this reason, the cross-site focus on improving the use of outside resources was selected for study at this site.

Although it was possible to identify the topic of the use of outside resources as an important theme at Washington, it is difficult to make inferences about how the use of outside resources could be improved on the basis of data from Washington. The difficulty arises because we have data only on a single school under a single set of conditions, whereas improvement suggests a comparison among a number of ways of using the same resources in order to determine which way of using the resources is better according to some criteria. Although we can talk at length about how

outside resources were used at Washington, we have no way of knowing the relative merits of these ways of using resources.

From data regarding the use of outside resources at Washington, we can extract five points that may be important for improving the use of outside resources. The five points were merely hunches. A more effective way of addressing the research question would probably involve comparing data about the use of outside resources from all the nine funded sites.

The selection, cultivation, and utilization of outside resources at Washington were given organization and direction by the community school concept and by Washington's attempt to remain open. The fact that the community school proposal was a well articulated, written document allows for a precise specification of the resources required to implement the community school program. Appendix C contains an account of one attempt to obtain funding for this program. It was clear in the document that the persons being contacted about funding the program were selected carefully and not chosen at random and that Lee Dole's behavior was purposeful, when he wrote the proposal. One would expect that this kind of focusing principle would be important in the effective use of outside resources.

The Washington community did not select resources on a strictly philosophical basis but conducted a survey of community members. That procedure allowed them to develop priorities on the basis of the community's perception of its needs. It also heightened the probability that the resources would be used if obtained.

This particular research question was limited to improving the use of outside resources. However, it was interesting to note that Washington made a strong effort to convert all possible resources into internal resources,

at least in a psychological sense. An example of the internalization was found in comments by the Legal Aid attorneys and by Federal Judge Peter Armstrong. Judge Armstrong has, on occasion, remarked that he sees himself as a "Washington man". Legal Aid attorneys were often heard to use the term "we" when referring to Washington's fate. Although this may be, in part, legal parlance, it was clear that these people felt in some measure that what happened to Washington was important to the attorneys themselves.

Washington has often attempted to find multiple uses for the same resources. One example of such economy was the funds received from the NIE. These funds have been directly used to pay for workshops and training. The fact that such resources have been obtained by the school has been used indirectly to support the argument that Washington should be kept open, for if it were not kept open, these resources would be lost to the school system and to the Washington community. A second example occurred when staff member Robert Gray tried to get the state Humanities Council to fund a symposium to be held at Washington on improving inner-city education. The people who were chosen to present papers at the symposium were selected very carefully in order to get controllers of resources to come to Washington. The presenters included employees of NIE and the Mott Foundation. Robert Gray also argued that if a successful symposium were to be held at Washington, it would make the School Board look foolish for closing a school which had just conducted such a successful program. Thus, the money, if received from the state Humanities Council, would serve the purpose of getting influential people to come to Washington and might also serve to keep the school open.

Finally, Washington made a concerted effort to show its appreciation to those who commit various forms of resources to the school. After Judge

Armstrong indicated that he would not let Washington be closed in the summer of 1976, a large dinner party was held for those who had worked so hard to keep the school open. Letters of appreciation were sent to a large number of people who were involved in the effort, even to those who played minor roles. The Washington Neighborhood School Board also wrote a letter to a funding agency supporting a proposal made by Mike Carrington who had given Washington information on parents' rights and who had offered to support the continuation of the Neighborhood School Board.

Follow Through to Children

One of the main questions of interest to DTA deals with the effects of the funded strategies on children. This interest was particularly true for projects like the one which was funded in River City. Interest was strong because the major interventions were at the organizational level and had to affect several organizational layers if they were to affect the children. For this reason, the cross-site focus "Follow through to children" was selected by this researcher.

As we have seen, substantial impact on the target schools cannot be attributed to the IEC project. This conclusion also refers to benefits to children. The one major example of an attempt by the TAG to have an impact directly on students was the problem-solving skill development workshop held for the Student Council at Jensen in the spring of 1976. The sponsor of Student Council activities said that the workshop was conducted too late in the year, and the TAG did not follow up on the skill development sessions.

In considering this topic, however, there was one interesting point which probably should be discussed here; namely, who was the client at Washington Elementary School? When this research question was formulated,

it was automatically assumed that the students were the clients, and when the researcher originally began looking at the River City site, the assumption seemed to be an accurate way to look at the question. It appeared that Washington contained a governing body -- the Neighborhood School Board, a staff, and a group of students. In this way of perceiving the situation, Washington differed from other schools only in the level of parent participation at all levels, including decision-making. However, when one takes into account the fact that Washington calls itself "Washington Community School" rather than going by its formal title of "Washington Elementary School", we may need to re-think who the client actually was. Over the time the researcher has been observing Washington, it has become clear that the school's clients include the parents who participate in the school, the elementary school students, and other elements in the community. In a publication by Winter and Dole (1975), this viewpoint is made clear. In the following excerpt from that article, several parents who are actively involved at Washington respond to the question, "What has happened to you personally since your involvement at Washington?" In both the question and the parents' responses (given below) it was clear that the questioner considers the parents to be the recipients of benefits as well as the providers of additional resources to support the ongoing education of the children.

I talk more; I found sisters and brothers on the board. I feel strong because I feel wanted and needed. I learned to disagree and not get mad. I got to know people and was able to voice my opinion. I know now that I'm not always right and when people vote against me, it was not because I'm colored -- they just disagreed with me. Staff is more friendly to me now.

I used to be shy and backward -- I wouldn't even try to make a decision. Since I've been chairman of the board, things have changed -- now I do it and try not to worry about it. Some decisions are bad and that's my fault -- others are okay. It (the board) has helped me a lot. Staff is much more friendly to me than ever before.

It (WNSB) has meant a lot to me personally. I've enjoyed the workshops and hope we have more. I can explain things to my husband now; we talk things over and can communicate better. It was a turning point in my life.

Thus, if the TAG had been demonstrably successful in the implementation of the IEC project's goals at Washington, research regarding the project's impact on the school's clients would have required separate analysis of its effects on the student population and on the parent/community resident population.

CHAPTER V: IMPLICATIONS FOR BUILDING A SUSTAINED
CAPACITY FOR PROBLEM SOLVING AT THE
LOCAL SCHOOL LEVEL

It will be recalled that an NIE study, "Building Capacity for Renewal and Reform", concluded in part that, "While there has been much 'innovative activity' in the schools, little of this activity has resulted in sustained change." Based upon this staff-conducted policy study of federally funded programs, NIE began to conduct research into the question of how to help build education problem-solving capacity in local schools and communities. What has been learned from the study of the IEC project in River City that addresses itself to this fundamental research question?

Study of the IEC project indicates that a high degree of "innovative activity" which does not result in sustained improvement of schools may result from a lack of a sustained capacity for problem-solving, as NIE concluded, but the failure may also result from the way the federal government selects and funds educational programs.

Much of what can be learned from the IEC project depends upon the assumptions that one is willing to make about that project. First, let us assume that the project was designed, in fact, to make changes in two target schools, as was stated in the TAG's Phase I proposal to NIE. If we begin with this assumption, it is clear that it cannot be said that the project was a success. It is the researcher's opinion that projects of this type can be more successful in the future if educational practitioners' training is based upon a researcher-practitioner model rather than one making educational research and educational practice separate areas of concern. The need for such a combination of skills was apparent in two ways at the River City site. First, although projects in River City were often labeled

as innovative, they were innovative only in the sense that they were new to the River City system. Every major program or theoretical concept currently in vogue in the River City area has been imported from other school systems or universities (Organizational Development, Behavior Analysis Follow-Through, British Infant School, open education, criterion testing, individualized instruction). To the extent that River City was an importer of educational ideas and techniques, a strong knowledge of research and analytical skills was required to evaluate claims made about these ideas and techniques. To be a good consumer of innovations developed elsewhere, one should be able to evaluate rigorously claims made about programs: Does the evidence really support claims made about the outcome of the project? Is there any real indication that the outcome was a result of the methods reported? Are the circumstances and the setting in which the program was originally implemented really similar to the circumstances and setting in which the program is to be implemented?

A second important role for research skills is designing and actually implementing a program. Every program implemented is an experiment and should be treated as such. Much of what was observed in the IEC project suggested that the TAG members were so certain that their concepts and methods were correct that they made no effort to document or evaluate their project. A practitioner well versed in research methods would undoubtedly not have failed to develop a useful baseline description of the problem on which he or she was going to work.

Under another set of assumptions, what has been said above can be considered naive. One can assume that the authors of the IEC project were

applying to NIE for funds in order to solve an entirely different problem than that stated in their proposal. If this assumption were true, the receipt of the funds would by its very nature indicate that the TAG had been successful in its problem-solving venture. We have some evidence that the TAG did attempt to get funds for reasons other than those stated in their Phase I proposal. Recently this researcher had a conversation with an acquaintance of his who was also a good friend of Dr. Charity Williams. In the context of the conversation, the researcher told Dr. Williams' friend that he (the researcher) had written an unfavorable case study of Dr. Williams' project and was afraid that Dr. Williams would not be happy with it. Dr. Williams' friend said that she did not think that the criticism would bother Dr. Williams, because the principal reason that the TAG had written the IEC project proposal was to obtain funds to pay part of their salaries (the salaries of Paul Lennon and Charity Williams) while they continued to work as Central Office OD consultants as much as possible. Because of the financial condition of the River City public schools, the OD Department faced an uncertain future unless external resources could be obtained to pay part of the cost for the operation of such a department. In a way, this kind of explanation makes a great deal of sense in that the overall design and implementation of the IEC project appear to be a minimal contribution from the two authors who appear to be bright and articulate educators.

Upon reflection, it was clear that a high degree of innovative activity with no sustained change may reflect a highly accomplished problem-solving capacity. River City, for example, was a school system with ambitious ideas but also with a declining enrollment and a declining tax base. Thus, it was

to the system's advantage to identify as many problems as possible and write proposals for the solution of these problems. Developing innovative programs and getting them funded, no matter whether the programs are successfully implemented, can be seen as a successful solution to other personal problems as well. People who are successful at getting proposals funded are in demand by school systems, universities, and other research and service organizations. Also, the fact that one has developed such a proposal and been involved in a project makes a nice entry on a vita and enhances the marketability of that person. All this is to say that developing innovative activities and getting them funded is a class of behaviors which can result from many conditions, only one of which is that stated in the funding proposal.

The River City site suggests still another consideration of how a high level of innovative activity could occur without resulting in sustained change in the schools. It is clear that the Jackson County school system and the River City school system differed markedly from each other as to the nature of education, the problems involved in reaching educational objectives, and the methods by which these objectives were met. Even if the IEC project had been highly successful in its design and implementation, it probably would have been terminated abruptly after merger, thus statistically adding one more innovative activity not resulting in sustained change. Although merger and organizational change of great magnitude are probably not a frequent occurrence, similar situations on a smaller scale probably occur fairly often. Since there appear to be wide differences of interpretation about the goals and methods of public education, one would expect that what was accepted as a promising innovative activity would change as

different people occupy powerful roles in the educational organization. Thus, the change in superintendents and other members of the hierarchy may potentially account for the constant development and implementation of new programs only to be replaced by still newer programs before those originally developed have had a chance to have substantial impact on the schools.

Also, in attempting to account for the phenomenon in question, one should certainly look at the way in which such projects are funded. The very fact that NIE committed substantial funds to a project like the IEC project would appear to be hard to defend on logical or analytical grounds. A good part of the case study has been designed to argue that such funding was in error. No matter how well practitioners are trained to develop well-designed projects, there would be no reason for them to do so when projects like the IEC project can be designed and funded with much less effort. Thus, one might suggest that more innovative activities would result in sustained change if those responsible for funding such programs acquired some sophistication in choosing the programs to be funded.

Organizations responsible for funding educational programs might also want to look carefully at the relationship between funding procedures and the undesirable results which have triggered the massive research program of which this case study is a part. As it stands now, large amounts of money are given to people who identify problems and propose solutions. The method of funding is very much like giving a child five dollars for mowing the lawn before he has, indeed, mowed the lawn. The overwhelming evidence from the psychology of learning indicates that the optimal relationship between desired behavior and its consequences is obtained when those consequences follow the desired behavior in a contingent manner rather than precede it. This is to say that if one wants successful projects, one should fund

successful problem-solving ventures or successful projects. As it is now, people are rewarded for having problems, not for solving them.

A substantial fraction of all governmental grant money should be made available to pay for work which has already been completed. The doer of a worthy piece of work should submit to the appropriate funding agency a final publication (hopefully from a reviewed, archives-type journal) or a final report which describes his work, together with a budget which includes the expenses entailed in its performance, including a reasonable profit for the investigator or his organization. Evaluation of work already performed could be made by technical peers as it is now, and since it would be the work itself which is being evaluated, there would be no need to identify the worker in this evaluation process. The work would stand or fall on its own merit. It is inherently easier to evaluate work that has already been done than it is to anticipate the value of a proposed piece of work. (Fletcher, 1976)

As Fletcher has pointed out in the same article, the method of funding research or practice by giving grant money for completed research would make it difficult for new people to get started in research or practice and would make it difficult to carry out extremely elaborate projects. He has suggested that under these conditions, methods of funding such as those being objected to here would probably have to be resorted to. However, this is not necessarily so. It is possible to develop a sequential funding arrangement, in which each step successfully completed results in the receipt of funding to cover that step. Thus, for example, one could begin with problem-posing and a critical review of relevant research, then move to well designed interventions, then to the initial intervention itself, then to evaluation, and so on. Thus, the contingencies of reinforcement would be designed to maximize the desired results; that is, the solution to problems rather than the identification and design of "innovative solutions" to these problems.

CHAPTER VI: ALTERNATIVE INTERPRETATIONS OF
AND PERSPECTIVES ON THE
WASHINGTON COMMUNITY SCHOOL

by Arthur A. Hyde

Introduction

This chapter is an attempt to supplement the case study of Robert Brown in its discussion of the IEC project in operation in the two schools in River City. Having acted as the supervisor of Dr. Brown's documentation effort in the last third of his research, I was struck by the wide range of possible information within the River City educational system in general and within the Washington School in particular which had not been systematically addressed by prior DTA documentation. A great tension existed on all the site researchers during the documentation of DTA sites in terms of focus: when complex realities force choices of events to observe, how ought one spend time -- on project processes or school processes? Steve Wilson (1977) describes in detail the difficulties experienced by site researchers on this issue.

My judgment upon arrival in River City shortly after being hired by the Center for New Schools was that in the particular case of the IEC project, an overemphasis upon events sponsored by the project had occurred. Observation of project staff actions fitted more readily the research inclinations of the particular site researcher as he described in his introductory chapter. While such documentation was valuable, underemphasis in documentation of some basic socio-cultural processes within the life of Washington School resulted. This regrettable trade-off was particularly serious in my mind as this school is one of the most unusual schools I have ever encountered.

To attempt to capture some of the underlying dynamics of Washington School and building upon the existing data base of the prior documentation, I visited there on four occasions of several days. I observed and worked with students in classrooms, attended meetings and social occasions with teachers, parents, and community members of the Neighborhood School Board, engaged in informal interviewing with teachers and parents at the school, and formally interviewed school, community, and project people yielding over 20 hours of tape-recorded sessions which were later transcribed.

This supplementary documentation does not constitute an independent set of information from that of the site researcher. We shared our separately collected data fully and discussed its possible meanings. Probably because of our differing perspectives on educational practice, we have differing perspectives on the interpretation of our collective data. Unfortunately, a full synthesis or resolution of differences, if possible, could not take place because of pressures of time, and because Dr. Brown accepted a position elsewhere. Thus, there existed a fair amount of information concerning the Washington School collected by both the site researcher and myself which is not included in his draft of the case study.

I hope in the pages which follow to present some of this additional information. I freely admit that it is embedded within a different context and perspective than was the case study. Brown was documenting the technical assistance group, the IEC project, and trying to understand and evaluate its effectiveness. I seek to portray Washington School during the five years of Dr. Ned Winter's tenure as principal from the perspective of the people in the Washington School. To avoid needless repetition, I shall refer the reader to selected passages in Brown's case study where my

narrative relates directly to his account. In doing this I seek not to refute or to contradict any of his conceptions, but rather to enrich and supplement with alternative interpretations and perspectives which are certainly not definitive.

The unusual occurrences and interactions existing in the Washington School did not blossom mysteriously at the onset of DTA's documentation. The roots of its life can be readily traced to the ethos and programs fostered by Harold Baldwin, Superintendent of the school system from 1969 to 1975. The context is an important background providing basic perspectives on actions and events which transpired during the DTA documentation of the IEC project and the Washington School. The Baldwin administration and especially Winter's role in it will begin my narrative.

Next will be an orienting description of the basic ethos and processes fostered by Ned Winter within Washington School. He came to the school as principal from an assistant superintendency in Baldwin's administration with definite visions for that school. I believe it useful to think of him as a change agent coming to the school for a limited number of years to provide training and assistance. Some of his visions were actualized and many were modified by the experience.

The narrative will next shift back to the Baldwin administration and the reconstituted Organization Development Department. The entrance of this group's IEC project into Washington and its basic processes of interaction will be described. Issues of the group and its dissolution after the desegregation in and merger of River City-Jackson County will be discussed.

While discussions of Winter's influence and IEC's operation will give a flavor of the reality of Washington School, the final section will explore some basic issues and processes in the life of this unusual school.

The Baldwin Reforms in River City

In 1969 Harold Baldwin was brought to River City by the school board and given a mandate to "shape up the system". A basic consensus existed that the River City educational system was in dire straits and in need of massive reform. Baldwin had acquired a reputation as an innovative superintendent elsewhere in the state and he soon developed with his Central Office staff in River City, one of the most comprehensive plans for change of an urban school system.

To support the basically humanistic education model of change, Baldwin secured eighteen federal education programs for River City totalling \$4.6 million in the 1970 fiscal year and \$5.3 million in the subsequent year (Morefield, 1971). The River City Department of Federal Programs was eliminated after it was determined to fully integrate federal programs into the standard structure of the school district.

The basic planned change was to provide a massive concentration of effort on schools with the most pressing needs (a senior high, four junior highs, and nine elementary schools) in a "systems approach" to alter completely the social system of the school. The programs were to change fundamentally the nature of the schools, and not be only supplementary programs requiring partial change. Six elementary schools implemented Project Focus which was the core of Project Impact and other spin off programs for the other eight schools. Doll, Levine & Love, 1973 state:

The primary organizational concepts found in Project Focus were as follows:

- Teachers were put into teams of eight members consisting of one co-ordinating teacher, one "regular" teacher, four Teacher Corps interns, and two paraprofessionals. The teams worked with "family" groupings of from

100-200 students, providing a student/adult ratio ranging roughly from 25:1 to 12:1. Because of the lessened student/adult ratio, members of the team presumably would have an opportunity to gear instruction to each student's interests and needs.

- There was an attempt to provide planning time so that team members would be able to develop curriculum approaches, identify the individual learning problems of various students, and plan work for the diagnosed needs. Most of the meeting times were to be after school, but flexibility allowing for some day meetings was built in.

- Scheduling of the school day in Project Focus classrooms was flexible in accordance with the decisions of the teaching teams, in order to provide opportunities for students to follow their own "instinctive learning needs" (sic) and also to give the staff more opportunity to guide the "instructional searches" of the child. Students were expected to move at their own pace within and between families. The role of the teacher was envisioned as changing from that of a "teacher" to that of a "facilitator."

- It was anticipated that each Focus school eventually would be governed by a "miniboard" composed of parents, teachers, and pupils. There was to be close parental involvement related to program planning and curriculum changes "as needs arise." The plan further stipulated that "in the final analysis, if pupils and parents in project schools do not conclude that the programs are an improvement, the projects will be discontinued or modified to suit the satisfaction of the communities served."

Impact elementary schools had the same scheduling and instructional program as the Focus schools. However, the Impact junior high schools placed major emphasis upon a "center of interest" curriculum which included concentration on "relevant social issues, interpersonal development skills, and career opportunities."

The senior high school did not incorporate a "family" concept or the same "team" arrangements, although teachers were grouped into subject matter blocks. If two or more wished to collaborate, it was called a "team" approach. Approximately 40% of the senior high school classes utilized such an approach.

To accommodate such drastic changes during 1970-1971, in the framework, philosophy, and responsibilities of the schools' social system, a massive retraining effort was mounted, and "escape" opportunities to transfer to non-Focus/Impact school, were offered to all school personnel. Volunteers and Teacher Corp Interns filled vacancies. A massive shifting of teachers ensued with some schools having to find an entirely new staff in the following year. In the spring of 1970 all of the 270 administrators in the River City System engaged in workshops preparing them for the changes and perceived conflict ahead. In the summer of 1970, over thirteen hundred people (730 teachers) engaged in special training workshops.* The Focus schools' teachers received a mandatory six weeks of training. Workshops were planned and conducted by the River City Organizational Development Department directed by Ned Winter. Paul Lennon was a staff member in the department and participated in leading this training. According to Terry Borton (Borton, 1972), the eight week program

...consisted largely of sessions intended to help teachers understand their own behavior and how it affects those around them. Working in small "process groups", they learned specific skills to communicate the feelings that motivated their behavior and received "feedback" on how their actions impressed others. While some sessions dealt with curriculum changes and the building of teacher teams to work in individual schools, most operated on the assumption that if the teachers could be helped to treat each other and their students in a more open, honest fashion the schools would become both more humane and more productive.

In the fall of 1970 schools opened and in Winter's words, "We had to loosen up the system. . . All hell broke loose." Apparently teachers equated good teaching with affective education and letting students "do their own thing". While some schools had less trouble than usual, others experienced

*See Appendix D for descriptions of the workshops.

mass confusion. Observers of this early training reported in retrospect that:

Little emphasis was placed on the basic skills the teachers would need in order to develop frameworks, and plan for the mechanical aspects of implementation, and to work out the logistics of program development. Teachers knew little of how to group for teams, what to do with time allotments, how to develop team plans, how the new ideas and curricula could be implemented on a team basis, or what to do if things did not develop according to plan.

This deficiency in the workshops can be traced to a weakness in the premises behind the project programs. The premises were stated in student-centered teams, and the problems were seen as relating to the need for teachers to develop better "understanding". Hence too much of the summer was spent improving the attitudes of participating personnel and learning to "understand" one another and one's students.

This approach overlooked the direct help teachers needed for the classroom. The idea of holding workshops was in keeping with a systems approach. The breakdown was in the assessment of the foremost implementation problems teachers would encounter.*

Winter stated in retrospect, that they made two mistakes in the summer training program: (1) They didn't do enough on "power and control", and (2) They didn't work with parents. According to Winter, Harold Baldwin and his staff had anticipated that it would take several years to work out the difficulties of changing schools from a traditional to a more humanistic point of view. Baldwin had warned school board members to expect adverse public reactions to the reforms at particular points in time. What Baldwin apparently did not anticipate was that most of the criticism concerning the reform programs would be directed at him personally.

The severity of the reaction of many parents and community groups caused rethinking by Baldwin and his staff. Paul Lennon became interested

*Doll, R. et al, op. cit.

in behavioristic models (Token Economy and Behavioral Analysis of the Follow Through Program), perhaps as a reaction to issues of classroom management, and convinced Baldwin to allow him to try to implement these in some schools. Winter and Lennon became particularly estranged in their working relationship and Lennon left the OD department for another place in the central administration. Many in the administration turned their thought to other ideas, which had been brainstormed in 1969, notably parental choices about educational alternatives or options, and neighborhood school boards.

For the second year of reforms 1971-72, optional summer training workshops were held, again directed by Winter and attended by about half the number of teachers as in the previous summer. A Department of Community Development was created, headed by a former River City principal, Arthur Tracy, who had been trained in the Mott Foundation Internship program for community education. The department was to be responsible for helping each school in River City develop a local neighborhood school board, consisting mainly of parents. According to several Central Office staff members, Tracy had good conceptions and knowledge, but he lacked diplomacy. Lennon was later assigned to assist Tracy in helping these boards get started. Baldwin remarked about this change of emphasis in his reforms,

At the beginning, I had assumed that with the right kind of training, people could implement an educational philosophy of humanism and freedom. What I didn't see was that the way we went about that training only made the teachers and kids and parents feel less human and less free. We had the right content, but the process was contradictory. Humanism became a technology that people applied because we told them to, not because it was their philosophy or way of life. From now on, we won't be rejecting the personal growth emphasis of the T-groups, but we'll be trying to give people more power over what happens to them. We think people will work on

what they own, on what's theirs. They may not come up with what we want them to, but that's okay, as long as they're aware of what they're doing and its consequences. We're going now for a system of educational alternatives so that people have a choice. That seems an obvious stance for a system in transition, but it wasn't obvious in the beginning. (Borton, 1972)

In the subsequent years, up to the merger between River City and Jackson County, the pace of change in River City's school reforms slowed. There was a regrouping for "more mature change processes" (Doll, et al., 1973) -- spinning off of Focus-Impact ideas and processes, new program development, and increased community involvement. During these years Ned Winter left the Central Office staff of the Baldwin administration taking the principalship of one of the old Project Impact Schools.

Winter Comes To Washington School

Ned Winter spent twenty odd years as a teacher, principal and university counselor-educator, before becoming the director of the River City Organization Development Department. In 1972 he returned to an elementary school as a principal, to put into practice his visions of a humanistic educational program. Washington School had a fledgling Neighborhood School Board with 7 members who had had a few meetings in the Board's first year of existence, 1971-1972.

With the shift in emphasis of the Baldwin administration away from staff development towards local school-community decision-making, Winter immediately involved the NSB in interviewing new teachers for openings on the staff of Washington School. Eight new teachers were selected to supplement this existing staff of 19. Lee Dole, who had done his graduate work under Winter, was among these eight. He stated:

I told them (NSB members) that I had two dearly loved children of my own...to this day I feel that the board hired me because I convinced them that I loved children. I communicated a feeling which they heard and bought. I don't recall having been asked if I knew a damn thing about reading and math...

Winter and Dole have felt that the parents were quite frightened and nervous at the prospect of hiring "professionals"; they felt parents relied on their intuition and feelings about perspective teachers for their children.

The composition of Winter's new staff is rather startling. He had 19 returning experienced teachers. Yet, only Dole and one other of the newly appointed eight were similarly experienced; the other six were recent Teacher Corps Interns in River City, trained in Winter's workshop (two of

whom had worked at Washington). All other teaching positions at the school were filled by new Teacher Corps Interns and University Year for Action (UYA) students. Sixteen Teacher Corps interns would be in training at Washington for the next two years; six new UYA students joined four UYA students returning from the previous spring -- these ten would stay one complete year.

This staffing pattern is quite novel. Winter began with 19 veteran Washington teachers and 32 former and current Teacher Corps and UYA teachers along with Lee Dole and one other experienced teacher. Records indicate that only two of these 19 veterans stayed beyond the next two years at Washington. As they left, over half of the appointed positions which opened were filled from this pool of Teacher Corps and UYA trainees exposed to Winter's philosophy, vision, and practice at Washington School.

The year began with Winter promoting processes of teaching and learning based on his model of humanistic education among his new, predominantly young and inexperienced staff. For Winter, the process of teaching was much more important than the structure of the curriculum. Winter's conception of the teacher's role was derived largely from Carl Roger's notions of the teacher as a facilitator of learning. In an article written by Winter, Baldwin and two other members of the Central Office staff, the conception was explained: "The traditional role of the teacher as an authoritative manipulator of students' learning is to be replaced by a new role definition of the teacher as a helping or facilitating person." (Winter, Baldwin, et al., n.d.) This document also contains a statement of the basic conception of the role of the principal in relation to his/her school's teachers.

Rather than the traditional school principal...(teaching teams) will be coordinated by a Principal Learning Facilitator who will be concerned exclusively with instruction and spend at least one-third of his time in direct contact with students. The administrative paperwork normally handled by the principal will be turned over to a School Business Manager...The school leader is therefore an instructional leader, sometimes called a master teacher, who is more skilled in group dynamics and curriculum than in administrative clerical work.

The principal's role was to be key in the

laboratory training of the teams in each school...designed to help them learn the group process skills necessary to function with openness and honesty. Individual anxieties, jealousies, misunderstandings, informational questions, and antagonisms are expected to be resolved as they arise.

Three years after he wrote this article Ned Winter followed this approach in many ways in his role of principal. He did extensive group process training with the staff. He involved himself much more in interaction with staff and students than in administrative work of any kind. He instituted the NSB evaluation for growth with the staff on promises such as he and Dole (n.d.) expressed in the following:

We would rather have a person on our staff who loves kids, can relate with them, trust them, fails and grows with them, than a person who is weak in these areas but possesses only skills in implementing academic programs. It's not that we accept weakness in teaching cognitive skills; we feel it is easier to help a teacher acquire these skills than to teach him to work in the interpersonal area.

As a primary means of actualizing the vision, Winter encouraged teacher autonomy and challenged the teachers to be creative for the sake of their personal and professional growth. Teachers were given virtually total freedom in the area of curriculum (selecting contents, teaming or collaborating with others, and in scheduling activities). Teachers frequently changed grade levels, teams and roles (e.g. teacher to community ed.

staffer) from year to year. In addition, Winter defended the rights of some of the staff to teach in a more formal, traditional manner in structured, self-contained classrooms. Teachers were responsible for the curriculum, for the use of space, and for their arrangements as individuals or teams. Teachers, students, and parents determined all scheduling and rostering for the school year. Because of extensive interaction among grades, classes, and people in the school, teachers requested specific students for the subsequent year, and students and parents requested certain teachers. Each September sheets of newsprint were posted in the front hallway of the school with teachers' and students' names. A month of experimenting in classes and much switching ensued in which names were changed on the newsprint. After the first month changes could only be made if two of the three parties (teacher, student, parent) desired it.

For Ned Winter the vision of a humanistic elementary school pertained particularly to the kinds of interpersonal relations which existed among staff, students, principal and parents. Winter sought to create an environment of mutual trust, caring, and respect wherein open and honest communication processing could go on. In the following quotation from an interview, Winter expresses his belief in the value of such processing:

...Our workshops have been...90% interpersonal gut level talking about problems. Well, we found that when we went out and tried to have a task in a workshop that we pissed around there until it was time for a break. Then we'd have ourselves a few drinks and somebody would get into heavy things and we'd come back for a session and... (spend) the whole night dealing with an interpersonal problem that had nothing to do with the task...You solve that interpersonal problem and the task goes. You see, it's a personal problem that hangs up the task.

From this statement one would not be surprised to learn that Winter believed organizational problem solving to be personal problem solving and vice versa.

Winter established a high level of trust in himself by teachers, parents, and students. He personally counseled people on emotional, social, financial, and other problems. He mediated conflicts between people, particularly between students and teachers and between parents and teachers. His strategy was to bring conflicting parties together for an open dialogue of personal feelings. For cases of student misbehavior, it meant giving the child the respect of listening to his or her explanations. For conflicts between teachers and students, it sometimes meant Winter had to help the teacher to come to a deeper appreciation of the interpersonal relationships of the classroom. A lengthy illustration of this process follows, in Winter's words:

A teacher and aide brought a child in that threw a temper tantrum and kicked and bit them. And he tore them up pretty good. And this was about the fourth time the teacher had dealt with it and so she couldn't deal with him any longer and at that time she had to go back to the classroom and so did the aide. And so I just set up an appointment for 45 minutes later, they would come back down and deal with it again. In the meantime I had a chance to work with the boy and so the youngster got in touch with what he was supposed to do, so he felt like in his own image that he had worked the thing through. And when they came back down, he immediately apologized to both of them, told them he was wrong and that he just lost his temper and whatever. Well now, neither of those two were privileged to the process that had gone on for the last half an hour that I had been working with him, so the teacher was still very angry and very uptight...She said, 'I'm having a hard time with that. You think all you can do is just apologize. I want to know what you are going to do next time?' And she started and she got about two or three minutes into it. And I said, 'what are you doing?' 'Well, I just want him to understand...' and she started again just laying it out. And instead of him feeling good about what he had done, he was feeling crestfallen because she hadn't accepted his apology. And I just turned to the youngster and said, 'How do you feel about what she is saying,' and he said, 'I don't think she accepts my apology.' 'Oh, yes I do, I just want to know' and she started in on him again. I said, 'You have a lot of anger toward...'

'Yes, I'm very angry, this is the fourth time,' and she started in again, she started laying it on him what all his past sins were. I said, 'you are really the parent right now, aren't you?' And then she wheeled and then she started in on me and so we just had a real confrontation about that. And I said, 'You have a right to be angry. I don't disagree with that. But I don't think you have a right to take it out on this young man here when he's trying. OK, so he's done something four times before and he's made mistakes -- but right now you are being the parent...punishing a child and saying, 'and besides that last week you did this and this' and you haven't forgotten that and there is still a lot of anger there.' 'Yes, I'm angry, and I think he needs to know what is going to happen next time.' And she...And we went on fifteen or twenty minutes in a confrontation, her and I. And the youngster just sat there listening to us. So finally the youngster left and she said, 'I don't think that was fair. You don't have to deal with him every day and you jumped me in here right in front of him.' I said, 'You jumped him in front of me.' And then she started crying and she said, 'I hate that because that is the way my mother used to do me...Every time I made a mistake, she'd bring up my last sins for the last three years...I don't know why I did that,' and then we started talking about her anger. So then the next day she and the youngster came back down and they sat there and we very calmly talked about the process that had gone on the day before.

The development of these practices and ideas in Washington School by Winter did not proceed smoothly. In October of the first semester of his work at the school, many parents expressed serious concerns. While Winter had conducted an introductory two-week workshop for the NSB prior to the school's opening, at the next workshop in October the issues of educational philosophy emerged in a manner reminiscent of the earlier challenges leveled at Baldwin's reforms and programs at Focus/Impact schools:

Plans had been to work on the upcoming December election of new board members. However, the workshop headed in the direction of school philosophy. Some of us had hoped this battle might have waited until parents on the board were more experienced, but the members were too impatient to wait. They wanted to know what in the hell was going on with Washington; the kids were running all over the building, didn't have desks in rows in their rooms, and were always gone on field trips. These complaints held for about one-half of the staff. The remainder were judged okay, as they

were always in their rooms working except when they marched their kids to lunch in nice, straight lines. Adding to the parents' frustrations, the teachers they had recently hired were the 'worst' ones. 'Why wouldn't these caring, loving people make kids behave?' they were thinking. The workshop concluded with the parents being told that eventually they must decide what kind of school they wanted (Winter & Dole, n.d.).

Winter had committed himself to developing a strong parent input into the life of the school. The NSB was to be the major mechanism. A useful perspective on the school might be to see Winter's development of the NSB as a critical factor in the modification of his original vision into a synthesis of humanistic and community education. He sought to build a strong NSB. He delegated all the decision-making power of his office to the eighteen member board, equally constituted of parents, community members and teachers. He was particularly concerned with empowering people (parents, community, and teachers) for their own personal growth through ownership of the school. The Neighborhood School Board was the major vehicle to educate parents and community members to take more control of the school and of their community. The community school came to be like a microcosm of society or an extended family. Membership was predicated on the common love of children and each member was to be accepted, trusted, and respected. Individual differences, especially in teaching style, were allowed. Mistakes were viewed as opportunities for learning.

Each elected member of the NSB might have received votes from any of the three constituencies so that members did not represent a single constituency but, as Winter expressed it, represented the entire school community. Winter adamantly opposed single constituency or interest group representation by board members. He wanted each member of the board to consider and make decisions for the whole school. He encouraged legal

incorporation of the board, and trained members to write by-laws and proposals, discuss issues, process information, audit budgets, and taught them survey techniques. The school budget was a working document for the members.

The NSB screened and hired teachers and paraprofessionals for several years. The NSB even removed several, until desegregation and the merger between River City and Jackson County forced them to accept district appointed teachers. NSB committees made extensive observations of teachers and gave them feedback on performance. As will be discussed in some detail later, this practice, though called evaluation, was more like growth-producing, supportive feedback in which NSB members (particularly parents) encouraged teachers to continue certain practices while asking why other practices were being done. Such dialogue, rather than judgment, served as bridges between the often timid parents and the often insecure new teachers.

Winter unquestionably manipulated the NSB. He contended that such manipulation was to promote growth and responsibility in the board members as he viewed the purpose of the NSB to be educational. In an interview he said,

...We're (Winter and Dole) probably number one and number two manipulators on that board and somehow or other I don't connect that with being evil or bad or wrong or anything else. I think as long as you are manipulating people in a direction of becoming a responsible citizen or becoming responsible for their own actions, or becoming involved and growing, then I feel proud to be called a manipulator...and I think of all the growth in people that resulted from that manipulation...we have supported and encouraged the growth of some and we have let others kind of grope around for their own growth. I tend to manipulate those the most who give me the most strokes for being manipulated. I honestly believe that you throw out a general psychological invitation to growth and I think some accept it.

Interestingly, board members were aware of such maneuvering, as one stated:

We're pretty aware when (Ned) is trying to manipulate us. We are aware of that and (Lee) too...They can be very manipulative when they want to. But I think most of the members of the Board (maybe not some of the new members); I think most of us...If I agree with them, I let them have their little game and go along with them. If I don't agree, I don't.

The following two examples will illustrate this manipulation. Winter convinced NSB members not to protest teacher transfers because it would jeopardize the central administration's sign-off on an imminent proposal. When two Black women were running for NSB chairperson against each other and a white woman, Winter called the two together and suggested that they count their votes and the votes of the third candidate. They each realized that the white woman had a plurality. To Winter's question of "What are you going to do?" one responded that she would put all her support behind the other. The NSB elected its first Black chairperson in a community that was 80% white.

Winter believed that he did not give orders to people, rather that when he had delegated authority and responsibility, he trusted them as adults to carry out the tasks with autonomy and flexibility. The policies and procedures for running the elementary school were determined and executed by the NSB and its committees and task forces. The chairperson of the NSB was empowered to oversee the performance of these groups. Winter's role was to help each of these groups of people perform these tasks. Help, to him, meant providing sufficient training to perform competently, personal support to give confidence, and counseling when personal or interpersonal problems occurred. Administrative order, coordination, and efficiency were not particular concerns for him. His attitude was that the growth of people taking responsibility for arrangements which effected them was not

necessarily orderly. He also believed that he should not enter to solve administrative problems which others complained about but rather help them process their feelings and allow them to find their own solutions. A parent stated:

He won't solve your problems for you. If I come in here with a problem, he will say, 'What are you going to do about it?' He won't say, 'I'll do that about it.' He'll say, 'What are you going to do about it?'...A lot of times (he'll tell you alternatives) but he'd rather me work through them first. 'What are some of your alternatives?' I can say, 'this, this, this.' and...he'll say, 'Or this, this, or this.' But he never completely solves the problem for you.

In many ways Winter fostered a community of shared concerns. People referred to the Washington "religion" and the "hum" (after a short story written about the school closing fight, entitled, "The Hum that Wouldn't Die"). Even before they united to fight their common enemy, the school district, a sense of communal caring existed, born of a score of personal growth workshops on race relations and interpersonal communications, two separate weekly encounter groups, and the open, personal confrontation and dialogue all promoted by Winter and his vision of a humanistic school community. Through these experiences racial antagonisms cooled; behaviorists and humanists on the teaching staff found the commonality of caring for children; and parents found that teachers they had hired because they were sensitive to their children were not structured disciplinarians, however, both groups moved closer to a synthesis.

The sense of community may best be seen in the case of a board member who misappropriated a considerable amount of money from the NSB. When discovered, and restitution was impossible for the person, the scandal was kept within the confines of the NSB (excepting the bank manager) and the incident was portrayed as a learning experience for all concerned. Dole described this experience:

It has now been eight months since that happened and to my knowledge that information never leaked out. That person is still respected, still loved and that person is still growing, when that person could have been destroyed that day -- literally destroyed. And the whole family as well...We've been saying for three years -- you're in a situation where you can mess up and be accepted and that was the ultimate test.

Winter's vision of parent involvement in running a humanistic elementary school broadened within the school as a focus for community education which would promote the personal growth of parents, students, and community members. The professionals should be, according to Winter, "working themselves out of jobs" by empowering the community. In an interview, Winter recalled:

I guess when I started here I had a vision but it has evolved... (at first) I wanted to see a rather humanistic school where kids were treated like people rather than objects...a very happy school where kids were happy about learning instead of considering it work. And I wanted to see parents become involved in the kids' education. I don't think my vision five years ago encompassed community education at all, other than bringing parents into the building working with kids and making decisions around the all-day school.

...The concept (of community education) is just about three years old in our heads...The community was definitely around us...but we weren't doing anything about it...we wrote the big, mammoth community ed. proposal, not submitting it to anyone. We (parents and teachers) just decided to get together and write what we wanted for the total community...

We wanted all kinds of programs in but I don't think we were that program-oriented. I think we were thinking about process an awful lot through the whole thing. Process has meant a great deal to us all the way through, or it has to me.

Winter put the full authority of his role behind the parents' and community's right to be involved in the school and to participate in many varied ways ranging from volunteers' helping in the lunchroom to the ultimate decision-making authority in the school via the Neighborhood School Board. The Neighborhood School Board became a legally incorporated body

under Winter's guidance, enabling it to solicit funds for community development and social services. The various means for participation in the school are described in Brown's case study.

Winter put the full weight of his personality into developing services to, and promoting personal growth in, the predominantly poor white community. He pressured a university medical facility into giving free medical checkups and booster shots to all of the children in the school. He personally gave money to hire aides and to start a loan fund for community members, establishing the norm whereby nearly all of the professional staff donated money from their salaries (virtual tithing) to pay parents and community volunteers. He solicited grants which brought in funds for housing renovation, a tool-loan library, a drug abuse prevention program and a mini-bus for community use.

The main concern of the vision seemed to center on parents' and community members' personal growth: how to help poor people to deal with powerful bureaucracies in education, politics, and social agencies, to broaden their horizons of the possibilities in their own lives, and to cope with their often dire personal circumstances. Through training sessions for the NSB, through workshops and T-groups, and through individual counseling, experiences were provided which changed the lives of many parent and community members as attested to in Brown's case study.

The growth process was apparently quite arduous with crises in the school and in individuals' lives. Not all parents showed marked growth. One NSB member talks about that issue:

I would like to know why some parents grow so much and some parents don't. It's like people have been on the board as long as I have been on the board, and I know I've grown.

And I'm proud of the fact that I've grown and I'm proud of the fact of how much I've learned. But some parents are still where they were five years ago...I've lost a lot of friends because of this, because of the way I have grown and the way they have stayed where they are. And they have been through the same thing I've been through. They've been through the workshops. They've been through all the training I've been through. I can't understand why they are still where they were when some of us have moved up.

Winter is convinced of some of the elements of the experience which were essential to these people: interpersonal trusting, allowing people to make mistakes for learning, encouraging and praising the successes of people, integrating the social aspects with the educational, and recognizing the role of sexuality in the dynamics of people's lives. The community school became under his leadership the center of a Rogerian therapeutic community for many parents. In addition to the support and nurturance of learning new skills and confidence, there was a venturing out to new cities to present their experience to academics, a heady experience for some who had never left the Fishtown section of River City. The communal spirit which pervaded their lives cannot be underestimated in explaining the parent and community members' involvement. Winter has said that if he had just kept the workshops in a business-like training fashion, people would have stopped coming after the second session. The social and personal enjoyment of the post-workshop festivities was an enrichment to their lives. Also, many workshops were held away from River City. Escape from the bleakness of Fishtown was a motivation for participation. Likewise, Winter has stated that his recruiting young attractive males to the school via the Teachers Corps was a great incentive to getting female parents and community members involved in the school.

It is intriguing to compare Baldwin's shift from teacher training to local school community decision-making with Winter's experience at

Washington School. Winter never abandoned his emphasis on humanistic teaching processes but extended the humanistic processes to include all school-community relations. Brown has stated that parents and community members also became clients of the school. Brown has suggested that Winter's forceful ethos in this direction yielded a selective inclusion of parents that were "educated" into Winter's way of thinking. Those who did not share or come to share his vision opted out of active participation in the school. While not denying the possible validity of this thesis, I would use another perspective.

Once Winter had begun to develop parents' roles in the school and particularly the NSB, he was training them for assuming decision-making powers of governance and they were shaping his vision. For once their perspectives were included in the life of the school, the very nature of the school began to change. Winter responded to this influence not by dogmatically clinging solely to his notion of humanistic classroom processes, nor by relinquishing his vision to yield to whatever the most vocal parents wanted, but by rethinking his basic premises and plans for parent growth as well as enlarging his vision to include community development in the broadest sense. On some levels, it would appear that dialectical process occurred. A mutual adaptation developed between the educational visions of a new principal, an agent of change in his own right, and the needs and desires of the parents and community of the school. Thus, one can accept the possibility that some parents were turned off from active involvement in the school, and show that the ones who remained were not totally remade in the Winter mold.

There was one area in the life of the school to which Winter did not really attend. Referring to the previously cited description of the ideal

principal role as principal-learning facilitator, Winter was a master teacher only in the sense of a group process facilitator, not a skilled curricularist. He did not provide clarity and cohesion for the teaching staff in the area of curriculum, despite repeated request for such leadership. He repeatedly stated that this was not an area of his expertise. Winter, the counselor, was predisposed to value processes of human interaction and to see curriculum as only a static map of scope and sequence.

In not providing technical assistance in the area of curriculum development, Winter denied a major expressed need of many of the teachers. Consultants were imported to provide workshops but the basic internal leadership was absent. Repeated suggestions by staff and consultants for an assistant principalship for curriculum went unmet. Winter's hope for curricular leadership to emerge from one or more of the teachers never was realized. Winter and I have speculated that his particular vision and process of selection of teachers worked against attracting individuals with such leadership skills or with interest in such emergent leadership. A continuing frustration on the part of a growing number of the staff forced Winter to acknowledge to me in the spring of 1977, that the majority now saw this area as the highest priority. It was a direction Winter expressed no desire in which to go. Furthermore, he confided that his presence and lack of expertise would probably hinder this movement.

This feeling and belief coincided with his desire to let the people independently run the school. It was time for him to move on; he felt that he had provided enough training for parents, teachers and community members to strike out on their own. He expressed a feeling that "it would be like

cutting off my right arm" but he felt like a father who had to let his children go. He believed they could succeed without him, that his presence would only hold them back. He had been pulling back from active direction of the NSB; now it was time to let go, completely. The agent of change phased out slowly and then resigned. It is questionable, however, as to whether he completely severed the ties. In the 1977-78 school year he was still maintaining informal contact with several of the teachers and NSB members on their progress in working with the new principal of Washington School.

The IEC Project Comes to Washington School

After a one year hiatus, the OD department of River City was established with Paul Lennon at its head. After a year of working with central administrative groups and principals, they shifted to a local school emphasis with the IEC project. Brown has implied that the motivation for soliciting the NIE grant was in part to underwrite the jobs of the two major TAG members, Lennon and Williams. Be that as it may, it can readily be seen that the rhetoric of the proposal for collaborative problem solving was incongruent with the means by which the two schools were initially involved with no input into proposal conception, design or writing.

A further incongruity needs to be mentioned. Presumably Jensen School was selected as a typical River City junior high school (although its principal was sympathetic to OD) and Washington School because of its basic adherence to project philosophy. It appears that Lennon unwittingly chose two schools which might be "difficult" in which to work. Jensen's principal may have been interested in OD, but its faculty had in large measure avoided innovations at other schools. Lennon and Winter were, at best, antagonistic colleagues. In fact, Winter was furious when he was informed of the likelihood of funding of the project, feeling Lennon had used Winter's name and experience at Washington School for his own advantage. When writing the proposal Lennon had underestimated the severity of Winter's reaction; or maybe he was insensitive to the incongruity of the proposal's rhetoric and his practice. Nonetheless, Winter and Washington School were part of an enticing package in River City to the NIE funders.

From the early experience of Will Bosewell at Washington School comes some interesting information which suggests a factor operating in the

rationale for the IEC project's work at Washington. After he was hired and had been oriented to the project by Lennon, Bosewell spent two weeks in observation and "sensing interviews" at Washington School. On this basis Bosewell conducted his first workshop with Dr. Ralph Perkins, a long time Washington School consultant, knowledgeable about the school, and well-liked, according to staff and parents. As Winter and staff members relate the story (which was prior to our documentation), Bosewell had been led to believe by Lennon that Winter ran a rather dictatorial operation with serious management and racial problems at the school. With this preconception Bosewell had, in fact, found a disgruntled Black male teacher who led Bosewell to believe many other teachers shared his dislike of the way Winter was running the school. In several meetings and interviews, Bosewell interpreted silences and vague statements as agreement with this single teacher's hostility.

At the end of the first session of the workshop, immediately prior to adjournment for dinner, Bosewell announced that a serious problem existed in the school which Winter was avoiding and must be addressed. He introduced the teacher who recited his grievances, claiming that many others shared his views. Whereupon, Bosewell adjourned the meeting for dinner leaving the audience in openmouthed silence. Both Winter and Perkins were enraged at Bosewell's surprise agenda item. The three had a heated argument during the dinner break in which Perkins as co-leader rebuked the neophyte, Bosewell, for pulling the surprise and Winter challenged Bosewell's premise of the problem and its pervasiveness. Bosewell rebutted that he had found the problems of which Lennon had spoken and Winter was myopic to them. When Winter told Bosewell that the staff would show him his error, Bosewell

retorted that a segment of the staff would if Winter went out and instigated such behavior. Winter and Perkins accepted Bosewell's challenge and demanded that the three of them remain together without speaking to anyone prior to the evening session.

The evening opened with the workshop participants attacking the teacher's assertion and Bosewell's complicity while Winter did not speak. When Bosewell and the teacher called on individual teachers to agree with their allegations, they refused saying that they had walked out of meetings in which such ideas were discussed. Bosewell appeared crestfallen.

Given this critical event some of the statements and ideas expressed later in the project's life take on a new meaning. Winter asserted that the school had a high level of collaborative problem-solving prior to the IEC Project and had not been enhanced by it: "...initially the TAG was ignorant...and now they know the truth." Consistent with the school's philosophy of allowing people to learn from mistakes through forgiveness and support, Bosewell continued at Washington School to become a trusted and respected colleague. Lennon referred to this as Bosewell's co-optation, an understandable perspective since Bosewell ceased to view the school as Lennon did and became more concerned with (as he put it) the phenomenological perspective of the school participants.*

While not wishing to force all data about Washington through a single porthole, conceiving of Ned Winter as the major agent of change at the school is a useful construct to explain much of the IEC's operation. As Brown relates in Winter's evaluation of the TAG, one can see a person who

*For some firsthand statements of Bosewell's perspective, see his comments on Brown's early case study draft, included here as Appendix D.

had a set of conceptions about what he wanted for the school and of the means he would use; all he lacked was money. If the TAG would use these appropriate means for his ends, the relationship would become smooth. In a word, the TAG had to adapt. Thus, we see Bosewell, in essence, becoming part of Winter's "TAG" staff. Winter, Bosewell and Dole were the three counselors doing interpersonal workshops, encounter and T-group sessions, and individual counseling. Bosewell and Winter each led for over two years separate weekly encounter groups of Washington staff.

After the merger and desegregation, Winter not only used the money of the NIE grant but converted his old enemy, Lennon, into a resource. The TAG became a conduit of information concerning the plans and maneuvers of the new Jackson County dominated central administration. In the spirit expressed by his statement, "Sometimes you have to trust your enemies," Winter and Lennon agreed to collaborate confidentially. Personal differences were secondary to the common antagonism toward the county administrators.

The single-mindedness of Winter's use of the TAG to actualize his visions, in at least one sense, is logical. He had been working at the school for two years on his agenda. A major modification of his vision was unfolding. He knew the school community intimately. From this perspective, it is understandable that he would be unwilling to rearrange his modus operandi to suit an external force for change. This basic single-mindedness was flexible enough to broaden the initial vision to incorporate community education, but was sufficiently inflexible to thwart efforts at a management oriented OD intervention, and was not able to develop a tolerable force, entity, or process for conceiving of a new appropriate curricular model.

The lack of such a conception or model made the importing of consultants via the IEC project unproductive in the development of the curricular program. While a clear rationale for staff and community development allowed a cohesive pattern of usage of project funds in these areas, no such rationale guided the usage of project funds in the area of curriculum development.

Issues Concerning Washington School

Two major ideas will be discussed here: 1) the notion of community education at Washington, particularly as seen in the NSB, and 2) the relationship between teachers and parents and community members. While considerable information regarding these ideas is contained in the case study, I would like to bring them sharply into focus. They represent two crucial features of a most unusual public elementary school.

The NSB was Ned Winter's major vehicle for training parents and community members to realize their ownership of the school, and for evolving processes of community development. It must be clearly noted that Winter did not immediately enfranchise parents, community members, and teachers on the board with abdication by him. He provided learning experiences via this vehicle. He "manipulated", directly trained, provoked perceptions, built skills, delegated tasks, etc. He never relinquished the basic premises of his vision of individual and interpersonal growth. To imagine Ned Winter allowing parents to enact policies directly contrary to his humanistic beliefs under the rubric of local community control is absurd. He undoubtedly fostered a selectivity in the power structure of the NSB borne of his philosophy and training of people. This was in accord with the educative function of the board. From all indications, Winter had to recruit and

convince parents of their rights, skills and efficacy. No one was clamoring for local control of that school in 1972. He had to show them, albeit symbolically perhaps, that he would respect them and honor their preferences for teachers, for the timing of a party, etc. But he had to give them specific technical information and skills in school governance, and to open the school to multiple avenues of parent participation.

He had power: the power of district-authorized school leadership and the power of a vision. That he exerted forms of power within the NSB is only logical. If he were merely a dictatorial figure, he could have much more easily controlled Washington School with much fewer headaches than the history of the school shows. The strength of his leadership in the crisis of potential school closing seems justified.

It is really not possible to evaluate the effectiveness of the NSB as a school governance mechanism developed over time for several reasons. It would be difficult to establish effectiveness criteria which would make sense given the wartime atmosphere of the school's recent history. Our documentation was not geared to trace the longitudinal development of efficacy of this group. However, let me arrange some of the information we do have to describe its functioning.

I would first sketch the composition of the NSB in the six years of its existence, five of which were during Ned Winter's principalship. The board varied in total members from a low of seven at its inception to a high of twenty-six. In 1977 its membership was stabilized at eighteen with six slots each for teachers, parents, and community members. It has always had at least twice as many parents and community members as teachers. Nearly forty different parents or community members have served on the board, and

nearly twenty teachers. Members can serve indefinitely, but the average length of time served by both of these groupings (parents/community members and teachers) is a little over two years (2.35 and 2.2, respectively) with half of each group having served only one year. These data do suggest a selective process operating in the board's membership. People try it out and then decide not to run again after one or two years. Few incumbents have ever been defeated in an NSB election.

These data also show a core group of marked longevity in NSB involvement. A third of the involved core of parents/community members have taken a year off from involvement. Home pressures have been cited as the main reason for these split terms; the extensive and intensive involvement required of members has been said to play havoc with marriages. A core of thirteen parents/community members has been the mainstay of the NSB in the last few years. The average length of time on the board served by the current twelve members of this group is 3.7 years.

A similar core of teachers can be seen in the last five years of the NSB. Five key staffers have been an integral part of the board during this time. One served a split term, taking two years off. Another, Lee Dole, decided not to serve in the most recent term because of pressure from home to reduce involvement. Of the teachers currently on the board the average length of service is only 1.86 years which reflects the recent departure of Dole and two other members of long standing after the intensive battles for school survival. The previous year's teacher members of the board had an average length of service of three years.

Brown cited data collected by the IEC Project in fall of 1976 showing the pronounced influence of Winter on the NSB. These data also show the

relative importance of these core members. Dole surpassed Winter on several dimensions and was near him on all others. Another teacher likewise was near to them on nearly every dimension. Three parents ranked very high on nearly every dimension; all were either present or former NSB chairpersons. On several dimensions one of these surpassed Winter. It is not essential to analyze the different dimensions to make the simple point that while Winter had power in this group, he was not alone.

There were two related areas in which NSB functioned at Washington: school operations and policy decision-making. Winter, as an administrator, was not very inclined towards performing administrative routines. Consequently, he delegated much of his administrative role functioning for school operations to the board. This delegation was consistent with his enfranchisement of the school-community. The NSB was arranged in task forces to carry out these administrative functions: teacher evaluations, cafeteria monitoring, purchasing, scheduling, building communication, etc. Many of the parents and community members of the board were volunteers, paid and unpaid, as well as part-time aides in the school.

This arrangement of NSB involvement in school operations performed a very significant function. It gave parents and community members experience with, and knowledge of, school practice and provided an opportunity to share perceptions with professionals concerning that practice. This intimate personal knowledges of the school and its staff have to be critical factors in the area of policy decision-making. Local neighborhood school boards can be hamstrung by the lack of information about school operations, and dominated by school principals and teachers without independent knowledge and judgment of practice. In the area of policy decision-making Brown has

correctly seen that few decisions of major policy went against Winter's basic philosophy. It may be useful to note three often cited areas of decision-making powers: personnel, budget, and curriculum. The first will be better discussed in the section following on teacher/parent relations except to mention here that a definite departure from Winter's wishes were made in several instances of the hiring of staff members. Winter was out-voted by parents and community members.

In the area of budgetary decisions, Winter and Dole have often remarked that it has been very hard to get poor parents to systematically analyze large expenditures. Whether unaccustomed to high finance or willing to trust the professionals, they would spend hours discussing the merits of a \$25 lamp and perfunctorily accept a \$50,000 proposal without scrutiny. Yet, throughout the five years, Winter made the budget an open book to the NSB and sought to involve them in analyzing expenditures.

In the area of curricular decisions, complexities abound because of the lack of a clear rationale. Parents and community members (usually former parents) had frequently questioned the humanistic teaching processes, but arguments about curricular theory and practice they generally left to the professionals. The teachers on the board, especially those who dominated the curriculum committee, often disagreed with Winter.

An instance of severe conflict occurred when Winter presented his new model for the Head Start Program and its staffing at the school. It was reviewed by the NSB before it was presented for faculty input, thus causing a furor among a portion of the staff. Serious questions of domain between staff and NSB surfaced. Some bad feelings persisted when Winter adhered to the policy that NSB was the primary vehicle for input into the model.

To return to the basic premise of the NSB as an educative vehicle may be helpful before looking at parent-teacher relations and the area of personnel decision-making by the board. The NSB provided unusual opportunities for growth by parents and community members. Examples have been cited in Brown's case study and earlier in this chapter. One more notion deserves special mention.

Phyllis Hamilton, former NSB chairperson noted how parental involvement affects their children.

If the children see mom come in to school, (and we have some fathers, even, coming in), and they see it is important to the parents (we have some in GED during the day), they think if it is important for them to learn, it is important for me to learn. It's like, like me -- I have two older children -- 21 and 18 and school never was important to them because it was not important to me, until I came over here and got involved and went back to school and got my GED. And now my four younger children...school is very important to them because I got involved and it became important to me. I've got five that will graduate from high school, I have no doubt. I have one that will graduate this year, three that will graduate next year and one that will graduate in two more years. But my oldest daughter quit school because...I let her quit because it wasn't that important to me.

It is useful to see the NSB as a means for training community leaders, and participation in the life of the school as a way for poor people to grow in their confidence and ability to confront and deal with power elites, personal or bureaucratic. I have heard numerous anecdotes from teachers and parents of poor people with initial great difficulty in confronting agencies designed to serve them, learning their rights and acquiring skills in securing their due service.

While the history of Washington School's struggle to remain open is filled with the growth in perceived power and confidence of parents, two examples are uppermost in my mind: parents giving public testimony at meetings of the city-county school board, and the direct personal confronting of a deputy superintendent's evasion by the chairperson of the NSB in a public meeting.

Let me now shift to the area of teachers -- parents/community members relations and personnel decisions. It must be noted that when Winter empowered the board to select teachers, most parents/community members were not exactly sure what kind of teachers they wanted, and were uncertain about what they wanted to see occur in the classroom. In the two years prior to the merger the NSB officially hired teachers and continued unofficially for another year with Winter acting on their recommendations. The NSB hired extensively from the pool of teachers in training at Washington. These teachers were known to the board because of the so-called evaluation process that had been established.

In a document written by members of the NSB* the use of the term "evaluation" was clarified. To them the involvement of parents, and community, and the process of facilitating growth were key elements of the term.

...evaluation is meant to be a process that will facilitate growth in a most positive manner, that there will be give and take in feedback sessions, that many people will be involved rather than the customary one person, and that decisions based upon any data will always be negotiable...

The Washington people distinguished their process from what they considered the usual school personnel evaluation: couched in negativism and pseudo-objectivity. Instead, Washington NSB sought a more positive process, building upon the basic humanistic philosophy of the school, noting that, "it is impossible to discuss evaluation in isolation of a philosophical approach to education." To the Washington people: accountability was based upon trust; having positive feelings towards children, parents, and staff in open awareness of differences, was the primary evaluative criterion; sharing

*"Evaluation Process as Conceived by the (Washington) Neighborhood School Board" July 1973.

responsibility for the total school and supporting the NSB were important other criteria; and being reflective, organized and directed in one's teaching and relations for academic, social, and personal growth. The document is a cogent statement of the ethos of the school and is included in Appendix E in its entirety.

The important point to be made here is that this evaluation process became a tremendously important mechanism for the sharing of perceptions between teachers and parents and community members which had definite ramifications in the ethos of the school. While workshops between parents and teachers had initiated the process of dialogue, the evaluation process institutionalized the explorations of differences in perception through legitimate parental involvement in the classroom. Parents had increasingly complete, open access to the classrooms of the school to see, to inquire, and to learn about their children's schooling. An important, perhaps crucial, point is the positive tone of this process. Parents would seek to understand what was occurring, even when they saw something they didn't approve of. The norm established was to ask why some practice was used. The teacher would then discuss what was being done and why. Dialogue was initiated in a positive inquiring fashion rather than in a negative judgmental one. In this way parents came to learn more about school practice. Then when they made suggestions for change, they operated out of knowledge.

In addition to this inquiry part of the evaluation was a large measure of supportive, positive feedback from parents to teachers on aspects of their practice and behavior. While also being a sharing of perceptions, this feedback served to establish bonds between teachers and parents as well

as to increase the teachers' willingness and desire to have parents be regularly in the classrooms. Thus parents came not only to visit and observe but also to help and to teach. Admittedly, the evaluation process was a feature of the NSB operation, thereby limiting its application to a limited number of parents. However, the basic feelings and norms for parental involvement were enriched by the process, contributing greatly to the policy of classroom doors always being open to all parents. Thus, at Washington a parent could walk into the school and directly to a teacher's room when there was a need to talk with the teacher. They would then arrange to meet and talk immediately or to wait until later. Thus, the ownership of the school, the rights of parents, and the accessibility to classrooms were intertwined.

With the features and principles described here operating in an urban elementary school, it is no wonder that scores of observers have found Washington Community School fascinating. While each observer has his or her own perspective for seeing elements for praise or criticism at Washington, none dispute its unusual nature. To dismiss potential learnings from the perhaps unusual constellation of people, forces, and events as being idiosyncratic or unique (and hence ungeneralizable), would be unfortunate, to my way of thinking. I feel that if a single school with its community, parents, teachers, children and administrators can create a certain kind of ethos or experience for its people, then the essence of this life can be created by other people for themselves.

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APPENDICES

- Appendix A: Author's Vita
- Appendix B: Will Bosewell's Critique of the First Draft of the DTA Case Study
- Appendix C: Alternative Perspective on NIE's Funding of the IEC Proposal (Included by editor)
- Appendix D: Lee Dole's Account of His Trip to Washington, D.C.
- Appendix E: Evaluation Processes as Conceived by the Washington Neighborhood School Board

APPENDIX A: AUTHOR'S VITA

VITA

Personal Data

Name: Robert Paul Brown
Address: 4 Chapelwood Drive
New Albany, Indiana 47150
Born: March 7, 1939; Knightstown, Indiana

Education

Arsenal Technical High School, Indianapolis, Indiana.
Diploma. 1954-1958.
Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.
B.A. in Psychology. 1962-1967.
University of Louisville, Louisville, Kentucky.
M.A. in Experimental Psychology. 1971-1973.
University of Louisville, Louisville, Kentucky.
Ph.D. in Experimental Psychology. 1973-1977.
Major Area: Psychology of Learning
Minor Area: Applied Experimental Analysis of Behavior

Honors

Graduate Dean's Citation; May 1977
Phi Kappa Phi National Honor Society; elected May 1977

Military Service

U.S. Army; 6 months active duty, 7 1/2 years reserves.
Honorable discharge February 29, 1964.

Professional Experience - Positions held during Graduate School

Instructor: Dept. of Psychology, University of Louisville.
Psychology of Learning; Fall 1974-1975, Spring 1976-1977.
Introduction to Psychology; Spring 1974-75.

Research Assistant: University of Louisville. 1971-1972 school year. Animal learning research with Dr. Dennis Holding (20 hrs./week). Supported by NSF Fellowship.

Research Assistant: Center for Educational Policy and Management (CEPM), University of Oregon. Full time researcher from May 1975 to August 31, 1977. Employed as a Site Researcher on the NIE-funded DTA Project (Documentation and Technical Assistance in Urban Schools) operated jointly by CEPM and the Center for New Schools, Chicago, Illinois. Collected qualitative descriptive data on NIE-funded "Imaginative Educational Cooperative" Project in the Jackson County Public Schools. Prepared a case study of the project.

Consultant: Behavior Analysis Follow-Through Project. Department of Human Development, University of Kansas. Assisted the District Adviser, Dr. John C. Birkimer, during the following four school years: 1972-1973, 1973-1974, 1975-1976, 1976-1977. Duties included: 1) Evaluation of program implementation in River City and Jackson County Schools, 2) Consultation with staff-trainers and teachers regarding behavior modification problems and techniques.

Professional Experience - Positions held prior to Graduate School

Counselor: Camp Atterbury Job Corps Center
Westinghouse Learning Corporation
Edinburg, Indiana
September 1969 - August 1971

Counselor: Indiana State Employment Service
Indianapolis, Indiana
August 1967 - September 1969

Recreation Aide: Central State Hospital
3000 West Washington Street
Indianapolis, Indiana
Summer 1964 and Summer 1965

Earlier Work Experience: Employment as foundry laborer, service station attendant, truck driver (medium), warehouse worker, vending machine routeman.

Professional Affiliations

American Psychological Association, Division 25 (Student member).

Papers Presented

Brown, J.H., Birkimer, J.C., Gamboa, A.M., & Brown, R.P. Effects of Parent Self-Control Procedures on Parent-Child Interaction. Presented by the senior author at the Sixth Banff International Conference on Behavior Modification. March 1974.

Publications

Brown, R.P. Implementing Organizational Development Strategies at the Local Urban School: A Case Study of the Imaginative Educational Cooperation Project

Brown, J.H., Birkimer, J.C., Gamboa, A.M., & Brown, R.P. Some possible effects of parent self-control training on parent-child interaction. In E.J. Mash, L.C. Handy, and L.A. Hamerlynck (Eds.), Behavior Modification Approaches to Parenting. New York: Brunner/Mazel, pp. 180-192.

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Choice of nonreinforcement following forced alternation.
British Journal of Psychology, 1975, 66, 4, pp 443-447.

Thesis and Dissertation Titles

Effects of the patterns of reinforced and nonreinforced training trials on extinction choice-test performance (unpublished Master's thesis)

Effects of instructions, self- and externally-administered praise on children's response rates on a second-order schedule of reinforcement (Ph.D. Dissertation)

APPENDIX B: WILL BOSEWELL'S COMMENTS ON
BOB BROWN'S CASE STUDY*

July 1977

*The page numbers referred to by Mr. Bosewell (pseudonym) have been changed to correspond to the present draft of the case study.

Let me begin by saying that the goals and scope of work outlined in the introduction to the case study seem to far exceed the manpower and resources provided to achieve them. The many disclaimers throughout the case study indicating a lack of manpower or time to collect various data or follow-up on questions and issues that arose during the research support this. Therefore, it is not my intention in the following comments to disparage Bob Brown as a researcher. Rather, my comments stem from a personal desire for accuracy and a desire to learn something about a complex process in which as a participant I was very deeply involved.

Generally, I was impressed with the thoroughness with which Bob described what I would call the "public facts" of the case. Particularly, the events involved in Washington's attempt to remain open, and the interaction between Washington and elements of its community are well described. However, since the orientation of the I.E.C. Project so strongly emphasized the role of a process consultant, I was disappointed and frustrated throughout the case study in its lack of attention to my style, my interventions, critical decisions or choice points within the consultation process, and the various effects or consequences of my activities. For example, the interventions and activities listed on page 37 through 59, do not seem to be addressed in terms of patterns of choice of intervention or their consequences. Instead, the orientation of the case study seems to be to document that a gap existed between what was planned and what was actually implemented or achieved. This approach raises a number of nagging questions concerning why and how project results and activities were different from project goals and plans. While Bob's discussion of this issue at the over-all project level is interesting and makes sense, the case study does

not shed much light on the complexity of that process at the level of the individual schools. More specifically, page __ represents this lack of attention, description and discussion of interaction at the local school level that is most frustrating to me. The comment on page __ "the great affection toward the project and particularly toward Will Bosewell may only indicate that Will Bosewell has accepted and has been accepted into the Washington culture" is a good example of the frustrating lack of data and discussion regarding effects of interventions in that school. What is unclear in this quote is who says that great affections indicate something else besides acceptance. Thus it seems that most of the attentions and discussion of the case study is directed at the lack of documentation, evidence, and analysis done by the project staff on their own activities rather than developing that documentation and analysis within the case study.

Next I would like to identify and discuss some issues that are indirectly raised in the case study that I would have liked to have seen developed and clarified further.

1. Co-optation of the consultant - on page __ there is a quote from Paul Lennon indicating that Will Bosewell was completely coopted at Washington. I think this was a significant issue that deserved more attention. There were also times during the three years of the project when that was an accurate description. There were also times during the three years that I and others became aware of that condition and in turn our interaction and choices were affected by it. The results of that flux of co-optation and awareness are important and I believe produce some desirous effects. Bob's case study, however, does not provide any data or analysis of that dynamic.

2. Project staff members' values and motives - comments are made in the case study relating to the motivations of project staff members for involvement and participation in the project. Again, this raises an important issue in terms of the dynamics of psychological commitment and investment of project staff members in the on-going development of the project. The quotes and comments however, did not provide a context for learning the effects both positive and negative of various motivations of project staff members.
3. The use of project monies by school staff - very little discussion is provided in the case study of the effect of released time for teachers, stipends for parents, and net working money use by staff for outside contacts. There is also very little discussion of the use of outside consultants both by the project staff as well as the school staff. The lack of use of an outside consultant by the project staff members themselves I think is highly significant.
4. The relationship of project staff to school principals - the interaction particularly between myself and Ned Winter was highly complex and particularly significant in the effects and the outcomes of various interventions. The ways in which Ned Winter and I dealt with conflicts and the exercise of power is particularly important in understanding the responses and reactions of school staff members to various interventions.
5. Planned versus spontaneous consultation - early in the project there was much discussion between Charity Williams and myself

about the desirability of contracts and plans for particular intervention with particular groups of school staff members. The result was a tendency not to plan explicitly and develop contracts around interventions. However, there was enough of a mix of planned and spontaneous consulting activities to make some comparisons. These comparisons however, are not developed in the case study.

6. The politics of organization development and process facilitation - in my work with the Washington Community School Board, Inc., there was a continuous conflict in intervening in group process and having an effect on the content of decisions. More attention and discussion of the consultant's role in a political decision process could have provided some significant learning.
7. Awareness raising facilitation versus affecting and shaping decisions - the degree to which the process consultant actually effects or shapes the outcomes and decisions of a particular group is a complex and dynamic process. Much of my own style and effort was geared toward raising participants' awareness of what they were doing and how they were doing it. In many cases the result of this increased awareness was continuation of the what and how of their activity. On other occasions I am sure I had a direct role in shaping and influencing a particular outcome or decision that I personally valued. Description, analysis, and discussion of competence between these two different events would be very useful to me.

8. Consultation activities with parents - in my own reflections on my activities at Washington, I am most aware of a lack of direct sustained involvement with parents as a group by themselves. Description and discussion of choice points and the effects of various attempts to develop such a working relationship would be very useful.
9. Lack of curriculum expertise - one of the most frustrating aspects of my work with Washington, particularly, was my work with staff members desiring to improve Washington curriculum. Analysis and discussion of the importance and usefulness of curriculum expertise processed by the process consultant would also be very useful.

I would like to finish by making one comment regarding methodology. There seems to me to be a strange inconsistency in the use of interview data in the case study. On the one hand quotes are used in many cases to make a point or show the validity of some general over-all description or analysis. And yet in other parts of the case study there seems to be a lack of self-reported data or interview data to develop a context or background for certain conclusions. This inconsistency in the use of interview data and quotes left me with a tendency to want to explain, defend, or provide contextual data for some of the quotes in the case study. A specific example is on page ____ in the discussion describing plans for the continuation of the project at Jensen. The fact that I had not worked at Jensen for over half a year, my own personal feelings, experiences, and knowledge of Jensen, and my orientation and style of working with and supporting Paula Scott in her proposed role as consultant at Jensen, is not provided. Again, let me

state that I understand the impossibility of Bob Brown collecting and providing all the data necessary to provide context for these various quotes. At the same time, that does not eliminate my frustration or lack of satisfaction with the case study as a source for learning and understanding some of the complexities of the process-consultation process.

APPENDIX C: MY VISIT TO FALL COMMUNITY EDUCATION WORKSHOP
Washington, D.C.
September 21-24, 1975

Lee Dole (pseudonym)

I left River City on Sunday, September 21, 1975 to attend the Community Education Workshop in Washington, D.C. My expectations were to make contacts at the workshop that would be of assistance financially and in other ways to us at Washington. One important contact in particular was Julie Englund, special assistant to the Commissioner of Education and Director of the recently created Community Education Program. Another hopeful contact would be anyone from the Mott Foundation. My flight to Washington consisted of two stops at Huntington and Charleston and four packs of dry roasted peanuts.

Sunday afternoon I checked into my room and I went downstairs to register for the workshop. In every sense of the word it was a typical evening of standing in line to get a plastic covered nametag for a small registration fee of \$10.00. I stumbled around in the crowd and ran into Paul Trumper, the person who was to set up my meeting with Julie Englund. Later that night I attended a poorly organized, ill planned workshop reception with a band too loud but a remarkable 10c off each \$1.75 cup of refreshment. (I managed to save approximately 50c that night). Of the 200 possible chairs to sit in I accidentally (or psychically if you're so inclined to believe) sat down with two interesting looking characters and began to talk. Much to both of our surprise they were from South Carolina and had met Don Hill when he went to the regional workshop there. Their contact eventually brought me into contact with a Dr. Ethan Janone from Ball State University. Later I discovered he was "The Man" in terms of our submitting a proposal through our region to the Mott Foundation. Dr. Janone extended an invitation for someone from Washington to come to Ball State and discuss our "big" proposal.

On Monday morning I felt particularly workshop oriented (discounting my sufferings which had resulted from my 50c savings the night before.) I pinned on my plastic nametag, selected my most executive looking brief case (if you will) and strolled forth to elaborate to the world of community education, the numerous virtues of the Washington School Concept. Unfortunately the world of community education had other plans and I found myself sitting in a straight row listening to a lecture about involvement. I accepted the contradicitions of terms only because "the" Julie Englund was doing the presentation. The afternoon proved more interesting and indeed more profitable. We visited two "community schools" of our choice. I selected the Mt. Ranier and Dodge Park Education Center visits. Information about the schools is available in some publications I picked up at both. They were interesting schools, one in terms of how it was financed, the other in terms of how it got by without finance. Neither was as poor as Washington or shared our concept of parental decision-making. The visits were too long (ending at 9:00 p.m.) but on the trip out to the schools I once again accidentally sat beside a very talkative woman named Rachel Powell (not to be confused with Rachel from "Another World"). It seems Rachel's claim to fame was in her ability to acquire monies for interesting projects (usually her own). In the course of her conversation/lecture to me she mentioned the Mott Foundation, and I immediately asked if she could put me in contact with someone from Mott. "Certainly", she replied; "I'll bet," I thought. Within five minutes after we departed the bus a young gentleman came up and started talking with me. A quick glance at his plastic covered nametag revealed: Stephen Silha, 510 Mott Foundation Building, Flint, Michigan 48502. Rachel walked by, nudged me with her elbow and said,

"Get him!" I did. For the rest of the trip, excluding the brief period he fell asleep during the slide presentation of the Dodge Park revolution in education, we talked. He became very excited about Roosevelt, hinted at seeking Mott monies for a visit to our school and took our address as a possible point of innovative exploration by the Mott people. He admitted he was not directly involved in funding but gave me interesting information about the Mott Foundation and their philosophy about funding projects.

Back at the hotel at 9:00 I braced myself for a second dismal evening of a loud reception, but was saved at the last moment by the two people I met from South Carolina. They took me to their "conference room" for much rejoicing and singing and a much better savings plan than I had experienced the night before. It was the next day that I discovered that the room we had left rather disarrayed belonged to the Dr. Ethan Janone from Ball State, a person we will be dealing with on any Mott money (I wonder if Mott monies is where the term M&M comes from). I provided the only music for community education (except the loud reception band) and became, if I do say so myself, a legend overnight with the good folks from South Carolina who not only understood but appreciated my flavor of music. The next day it seemed many people recognized me and invited me to several conference rooms that night.

On Tuesday morning Paul Trumper introduced me to Julie Englund. I left the short introduction feeling brushed off somewhat, but hopeful anyway because she had agreed to meet with Charity (Williams) and me on Wednesday morning at 8:30 (ugh!) for a brief moment to hear a few words about Washington. Then I left the hotel and headed for the N.I.E. building to visit with Charles Tompson. Somehow during our talking with Chuck, Charity

and I were invited to sit in on a meeting with N.I.E. and Don Davies. Don has had former connections with the River City scene and expressed an interest to return to Washington for a look at the impact of merger on our project. N.I.E. will help finance the meeting. Don was a very interesting person and I am looking forward to his visit here. He gave the name of two publishers to me who might be interested in our book Emergence in New Places. I left N.I.E. feeling very comfortable about their attitude toward us and our efforts. I returned to the hotel, then went with Charity for a fantastic meal of Italian food and friendship with some of her friends. They even supplied me with a new guitar string to facilitate my musical endeavors that night.

I selected the William B. Pollard/Paul Trumper conference room but discovered their savings plan had ended before my arrival. In spite of this tremendous handicap we pressed on with music. Three guitar strings later I was forced to stop. I talked with Dr. Ethan Janone at length, then retired with visions of sugar plums and Julie Englund in my head.

Wednesday morning. Julie was punctual, much more congenial and in a listening mood. I said an hour's worth of words in the 25 minutes I had, but I'm sure she remembers some of it. Basically my pitch was toward our concept of parental involvement and decision-making rather than involvement by participation in services offered. She said it was an interesting concept. I promised to send her more information. She has not reviewed our proposal but I feel she might now if we remind her she had it.

After our meeting I spent some time in the lobby saying goodbye to my new friends. Then I returned to my room, rested, checked out and headed for the airport and River City. It had rained the entire time I had been there.

Flash flood warnings were out. I only had a \$10 bill to pay the taxi driver. She had no change, held my briefcase while I went through a pouring rain to get change only to return and discover the airline skycap had taken my suitcase and guitar to "somewhere". I finally found them, got myself a book and sat back to read. The plane was late taking off but I didn't mind. I swapped my ham for Charity's cheese. Both of us were thankful for anything besides dry roasted peanuts. Back in River City it was raining and I was tired.

My thoughts and reflections about the trip and the feelings and ideas it has generated are numerous. At this point I feel it is necessary to provide some conclusions I reached as a result of my experience and to suggest some follow-up work I consider rather necessary. I hope I have not failed to convince everyone that I considered the trip profitable, enjoyable and educational. I thank those who made it possible, those who covered for me, and those who have promised to pay for it when the computer is fixed.

Conclusions I Reached

From the results of my experiences on the trip I have reached several conclusions. Among the more significant I would share are the following:

- * That Washington is more widely known than most people think. The word about "us" is spreading.
- * That in terms of community participation, meaning parents making decisions, Washington is the leader in its field. There is much interest in our development, accomplishments and future. Our concept is still "way out" in terms of community schools.
- * That very few (I met none) parents are involved in national conventions concerning community education.

- * That community education is generally thought of as offering services or classes to parents after school.
- * That we probably will not find one agency to fund us with \$750,000.
- * That there is much resource potential to be found at the local level, and we have hardly begun to tap the possibilities, i.e. local industries such as Ford, G.E.
- * That personal contact is absolutely necessary to obtaining funds. This funding business is extremely competitive.
- * That N.I.E. (at least the problem-solving component we are involved with) looks on Washington extremely favorably. Our project will be funded as long as they are.
- * That the Washington Community School Board must make every effort to send someone to as many community school workshops as possible. The contacts are invaluable.
- * That we are unique for trying to establish a community school in such a low socio-economic environment.
- * That we must maintain our power as a community school board. It is our uniqueness, our success story. Whatever it takes, i.e., special status, alternative school, non-public school, state school or bastard son of Jackson County school system, we must continue to make decisions and have our power recognized.
- * That attendance to a workshop or conference of this sort has a very reviving effect on the person attending. One is able to more clearly see the progress we have made and is inspired to move on diligently.

* That the real benefits to be gained from attending this type of conference lie mainly in the amount of leg work and follow-up done with the contacts that have been made.

* That it would be helpful if we created a short condensed booklet about our history, concepts and future plans to place in anyone's hand.

Follow-Up

1. Letter to Julie Englund with brief outline of proposal.
2. Letter of thanks to Paul Trumper.
3. Letter to Rachel asking her to visit or review proposal.
4. Establish contact with James Cox.
5. Contact Mott Foundation.
6. Contact State Department on Community Education.
7. Go to Ball State to visit Dr. Ethan Janone after he has chance to review our \$750,000 proposal.
8. Start exploring local funding; CETA, other Title XX funds.
9. Contact Don Davies about visit; coordinate efforts with Charity Williams.
10. Write to publisher - send short description of book.

APPENDIX D: IN-SERVICE TRAINING PROGRAM
DEPARTMENT OF ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
RIVER CITY PUBLIC SCHOOLS
August 31, 1970 - April 5, 1971

Following is a description of in-service training workshops conducted by the Department of Organizational Development from August 31, 1970 til April 5, 1971.

1. Communication Workshops - Poor communication skills inevitably lead to poor staff functioning. In order to facilitate open, honest communication, creative resolution of conflict and optimal cooperation, workshop participants are exposed to exercises which facilitate communication skill development. A skilled leader helps participants examine the impact of their behavior upon others, develop the ability to listen and communicate accurately and change those behaviors which are detrimental to effective interaction.
2. Problem-Solving Workshops - Staff members are trained in such skills as brainstorming, problem-solving strategies and other group dynamics concepts. Members concentrate on problems currently facing them as a team or faculty. Solutions are identified and strategies developed to implement them.
3. Instructional Workshops - Participants are exposed to a variety of experts in the fields of human relations, humanistic education, group process, etc. The purpose is to provide a sound conceptual framework to buttress recently acquired skills. Through simulations and demonstrations, participants are afforded the opportunity to combine theoretical knowledge with practical application.
4. Staff Development Workshops - Team or staff members are exposed to new approaches to decision-making, conflict resolution, and leadership. Emphasis is upon effective communication in a work situation. Process skills such as feedback, paraphrasing, etc. are practiced under the supervision of a leader trained in the behavioral sciences.
5. Black/White Encounter Workshops - Participants are given the opportunity to transcend self- and group-defeating stereotypes by engaging in open, honest dialogue with members of the opposite race. Emphasis is upon developing empathy and understanding for others in order to interact as unique individuals rather than as racial stereotypes.
6. Human Potential Workshops - Group members interact by discussing personal strengths rather than weaknesses. Individuals help one another identify values underlying behavior and examine discrepancies between personal values and overt behavior. Members set short and long-term goals for themselves and elicit feedback from others to reinforce or correct goal-oriented behaviors. Participants are challenged to find practical classroom applications for dealing with students.

7. Self-Enhancing Education Workshops - Participants are exposed to various approaches to building self-esteem with students. Several themes are emphasized, such as helping students set goals for themselves, learn problem-solving strategies to become more autonomous, identify goals to motivate, etc. Participants experience firsthand many exercises geared to help students assume personal responsibility.
8. Behavioral Objectives Workshops - Participants are taught the basics of writing behavioral objectives and developing problem-solving cycles to develop a personal evaluation system for their classroom. Members are supervised as they begin to develop objectives for their own subject areas, in both cognitive and affective areas.
9. Community-Relations Workshops - In order to develop a more democratic, cohesive school-community environment, participants from several community strata together identify and work toward solutions to common problems. Participants include students, teachers, administrators, parents, civic leaders, social agency representatives, ministers, etc. Problem-solving strategies are employed to help members work together efficiently. Group process skills are also developed to insure open and accurate communication.

NOTE: Periodically, outside consultants are utilized to conduct workshops. However, most workshops are conducted by in-system trainers. A cadre of approximately twenty-five trainers receive on-the-job training and have developed considerable expertise in all areas described above. Thus, workshops are made available to teaching teams or staffs immediately as the need arises.

APPENDIX E: EVALUATION PROCESSES AS CONCEIVED BY THE
WASHINGTON NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOL BOARD
July 1973

Introduction

On one hot August day in 1972, when members of the Washington Neighborhood School Board (WNSB) were interviewing prospective candidates for a teaching position, one of the members commented, "It doesn't do us much good to hire teachers when they know that we have no "say-so" during the year." What this person was saying was that people have to become involved before they begin to have ownership feelings. This is not an easy process when traditionally parents and staff (but especially parents) have had little or no voice in educational matters that concern a school community.

The River City Board of Education has maintained that local communities should have shared control over the education of their children and in programs that would be in their schools. The Central Office has been encouraging de-centralization so that decision-making would be as close to the implementors as possible. It was in keeping with the concept that parents could, and should, make important decisions that affected the education of their children, if they had full information provided them. One process of shared-community control was the selection of personnel who would work in the school; then coming full circle would be the ultimate - having the opportunity to evaluate those who were working in the school.

After much deliberation, the WNSB has undergone the process of interviewing and selecting certificated personnel who would work in their community. We have also been involved in the selection of Teacher Corps Interns. After more dialogue, we decided to initiate the process of

evaluation of certificated personnel during the school year 1973-1974. For the present, evaluation of non-certificated personnel will remain under the principal with input from the WNSB but using the same criteria that will be outlined in this paper. Perhaps we will grow enough to include all personnel later.

There has been much discussion and work regarding the involvement and process that evaluation would take in this community. It is important at this point to include our definition of the term "evaluation". The members of the WNSB wanted to use other terms rather than the word "evaluation" to convey the meaning of involvement. As long as everyone understands that evaluation is meant to be a process that will facilitate growth in a most positive manner, that there will be give and take in feedback sessions, that many people will be involved rather than the customary one person, and that decisions based upon any data will always be negotiable, then we can continue to use the word "evaluation" and consider it positive in nature.

Historically speaking, discussion has pursued this topic for over a year. There were several impromptu discussions, but the first official discussion took place during an open Board meeting at the University of Maysville at a National Conference of Mini-Boards concepts and community control of schools. In Spring, 1973, Mr. Ralph Rose, Chairman of Employee Personnel for the River City Public Schools, was invited to discuss the process that could be used. This pointed to a need for a three-day workshop devoted exclusively to evaluation which was held June 11-13, 1973, culminating in the formation of this paper. It would be difficult to relate the significance of this workshop and the mammoth amount of details pursued by individuals. However, after reviewing evaluations of several school

systems currently in operation, looking at numerous forms and processes, it was decided by all who attended that evaluation at Washington must be somewhat unusual and different.

Evaluations of other schools appeared to us to be couched in negativism and existed for the sole purpose of retaining or dismissing personnel. Regardless of the process used, most of the forms were based upon data that was treated as objective in nature; that is, check-lists, rating forms, etc., and other data recorded objectively. It was also evident that the ultimate product would invariably be based upon the subjectivity of the evaluator. If this was to be the case, then why not be honest, open and above-board with our evaluations by stating from the beginning that we would rate and judge according to our feelings, what we saw that we liked, what we saw that we didn't like and how these perceived thoughts and feelings would affect parents, children and the community which we were employed to serve. Would not the thinking, feeling, and sharing of ideas of several people constitute a fair evaluation of a person if he/she would be given the opportunity to discuss this feedback during the course of the year? Every individual has the right to know by whom and how he/she will be evaluated; that is what this paper is all about.

Washington Philosophy

It is impossible to discuss evaluation in isolation of a philosophical approach to education. Hence, the evaluation process becomes the statement of how a school is operated, what is expected of staff, and how people should be treated.

This past year there was a button pinned on many people, who proudly wore it, saying "Washington - The Different School". What makes Washington

different? What makes Washington a school where children enjoy coming to school and parents are increasingly becoming aware that they are welcome to participate in activities? It could be a commitment to the idea that school should be an enjoyable experience for children - maybe a fun place. The same feeling has to pervade the community, where parents feel free to spend time with their children, talk with those who work with their children, and feel comfortable just being in the building. An idea that school is a place where there are people who understand how people feel, who listen to them and share their joys, anger, fears and sorrows. It is a place where reading, studying, writing, talking, listening, and just "being" are pleasant experiences. It is a place where one can learn to cope with different situations and different people in an atmosphere with adults who are willing to risk and give of themselves. It is a place where one can just be himself and accepted for that, yet experience help in achieving more of his/her unused potential.

We all realize that Washington has not reached these lofty pinnacles yet. We have fallen short many times, but some students, some parents, and some staff have experienced enough success to give them the energy to keep trying. Once people have experienced treatment as a unique human being regardless of age, race, sex, or economic level, they will accept nothing less.

The WNSB and Washington staff worked several times last year with a consultant, Dr. Ralph Perkins, Professor of Education, University of Maysville. Dr. Perkins was asked at the end of the year by the WNSB to spend four days in assessing our progress. He spent these four days in talking with people who live and work in the Washington community.

In a final report to the Board, "A Year End Assessment Report to Washington Elementary School," June 8, 1973, he stated:

Washington is a different school. Its differences are characterized in the heavy investment of time and talent of many people including teachers, administrators, interns, para-professionals, students, parents and support personnel having many diverse responsibilities. It is characterized in the acknowledgement by all persons that what is happening at Washington is important; that children are the *raison d'être* for its existence and that whatever 'is' at Washington it could be better, even as there is recognition that 'things' are better than they have been. Further, that Washington is growing and changing and the changes have brought discomfort to some people even as they have provided professional support for others. At the heart of this discomfort-support conflict are basic assumptions about: (1) the nature of man, (2) what students 'need', (3) the purpose of education, (4) the nature of effective administrative leadership, (5) the role of non-professionals in the educational process, and (6) how best to organize school personnel in delivering educational services. Not least among the concerns at Washington are issues related to the personal and professional comfort of staff and the need for improving their instructional competencies through growth and development programs. Finally, but not conclusively, Washington is different in its ability to risk, to commit, to grow, to change, to confront, to attempt in new ways to provide for the needs of children.

Another valuable concept to be discussed is in the area of accountability if any process of evaluation is to become effective. There is much being said and written today in educational circles about accountability. How does one go about checking up on another and holding his feet to the fire to do that which is expected? Rarely do we hear of "trust" being talked of in the same framework. Yet, this is of paramount importance when people begin working and planning together. Trust is difficult to measure, but we all realize that it must be present, tried and tested time and again to determine if it is still existent. Can an institution or organization achieve accountability without trusting people? How can we

trust information we collect to validate accountability if we do not trust people who prepare, test for, collect and interpret the information? We have seen much evidence by those who use objectivity (commonly called hard data) in evaluating performances use the information to support their subjective judgments on people and programs. If we are to act upon subjective (that which we see and feel) information, then why not legitimize this process? If it can stand the test of time and people, it might possibly become the only valid process by which to treat people whom you trust and who trust you. We might say that this evaluation process is built upon trust bestowed in people and then people build their own accountability.

Evaluation Criteria

Every individual has the right to know specific criteria that will be used in the evaluating process. On June 11, 12 and 13, 1973, the WNSB held an evaluation workshop for the sole purpose of establishing criteria and implementation procedures. The total group responded with 18 items of concern on which people who work at Washington should be evaluated. These 18 items were eventually consolidated into four central points to the satisfaction of the group. For the consolidating of items, the large group was broken into three groups: (1) parents who do not work at Washington; (2) parents who are currently employed at Washington; and (3) staff working at Washington. The essential agreement between these three groups was astounding and very rewarding. It was an indication that there was unity in our beliefs of what course of action should be followed at Washington. This was an intensive hard-working three-day period where the following criteria were established for the school year 1973-74.

RESULTS OF THE EVALUATION WORKSHOP - JUNE 11-13, 1973

We are sincerely dedicated and committed to openly and honestly communicating with each other for positive growth of individuals and this becomes our purpose of evaluation.

CRITERIA FOR EVALUATION

**Have positive feelings toward people which can be exhibited by:

- a. Work with children
- b. Work with parents
- c. Work with staff
- d. Awareness of and open dealings with differences.

**Submit in writing to the Washington Neighborhood School Board your goals and objectives for children, parents, staff and yourself this year for:

- a. Academic growth
- b. Social growth
- c. Personal growth.

**Share responsibility for the TOTAL school by:

- a. Attending school on time
- b. Attending staff and task force meetings
- c. Taking care of materials
- d. Being involved in "in and after" school activities
- e. Accepting responsibility for dealing with all Washington children, inside and outside the classroom setting.

**Accept and actively support the Washington Neighborhood School Board Concept, i.e., shared control - aware that the Washington Neighborhood School Board is the decision-making body for Washington School.

Thoughts and Reflections on "Positive Feelings"

This is probably the most unique aspect of the evaluation system, the most difficult for uniform assessment, yet the most desired quality of a staff member by the WSNB. Of the 18 original items listed in the workshop on evaluations, "positive feelings for people" was voted as the number one most important quality for a staff person to have. There was open admission to being opinionated that growth best occurs in a positive atmosphere. Obviously, the degree of positiveness in a person as seen by another person is a subjective opinion based on a specific time which may or may not be typical or consistently accurate. It becomes a perception of something which is interpreted as being positive. It may be something said, some act done, something ignored, and sometimes a feeling perceived without actual knowledge of why it came. The validity in justifying this area of evaluation will be enhanced by a willingness on your part to provide the WNSB with data about you, such as:

How do you show positive feelings?

What do you perceive as being positive that comes from others?

A continuous dialogue concerning positive feelings.

If, through honest communication, we can get on the same wavelength concerning our agreements and disagreements on what constitutes positiveness, we can understand each other, grow, change, accept and enhance each other in this most important aspect of evaluation. On most objective forms we reviewed during the workshop, there was at least one item on "possesses a positive attitude". This is usually rated on the scale by one person, based on subjectivity, and ultimately becomes your total evaluation in this area. We feel a cumulation of subjective opinions by several people over a period of time will be far more accurate in assessing your degree of positiveness.

We recognize and accept the fact that on any given day one person is more or less positive than he usually is, more or less positive than others and more or less willing to change or grow in this area. If we keep in mind our purpose of evaluation, to keep each other positively growing, and if we remain responsible to dealing with feedback about our differences, nothing but self-awareness, personal growth, staff and community cohesiveness can be the result of us openly approaching positiveness throughout the school and community. How much did you learn from parents, staff and children about your attitude last year? Well, kids are people too, and they learn only when they choose to and it usually is when they feel positive. Kids usually feel positive when they are around adults who feel positive. The most important key in making this criteria for evaluation work is open communication between you and the WNSB.

James Kavanaugh, author of the book *FACES IN THE CITY*, 1972, expresses positivism in one of his poems.

Sometimes I realize

That there are bus drivers who like their jobs
Black kids who are happy
Women who enjoy being mothers
Freeway snarls that give people time to think
Policemen who can make mistakes and laugh
Old folks who aren't despondent
Factory workers who hum all day
Married couples who are in love
Girls who aren't afraid to walk at night
Kids who think school is really fun.

Sometimes I realize

That there are teachers who enjoy their classes
Longshoremen who think they're well paid
Hunters who don't have a masculine hangup
Children who love their parents
Rich people who could be poor with dignity
Girls who don't want bigger breasts
Men and women who aren't afraid to die
Doctors who care and don't overcharge
Politicians who tell the truth.

Sometimes I realize that I am very happy.

Thoughts and Reflections on "Goals and Objectives"

We are committed at Washington to maintaining an effective balance between the cognitive and affective areas of education, i.e., the teaching of academics such as reading, math, science, etc., and the teaching of thinking for oneself, self-direction, self-worth, openness and honesty with feelings, coping with situations, etc. It seems impossible to us that these areas can be separated, but rather they have to be incorporated on a daily working-living basis.

The rationale for submitting your written goals and objectives on academic, social and personal growth is to serve two basic purposes:

1. It causes you to reflect upon and organize your thoughts concerning your plan of action for the year.
2. It communicates to those working with you and evaluating you, where you are coming from and in what direction you desire to be headed.

This requirement is not because we feel you are not accountable, but we trust you will build in your own accountability for the execution of your goals and objectives. This requirement is not to eliminate flexibility, but to promote flexibility. We invite changes in, additions to and deletions from the original goals. We invite challenges and discussion to facilitate all of our growth. We do not promote blind conformity to established standards or operations - rather, we promote aggressive, creative, innovative modes of operation. There is every intention to be open-minded in reviewing and giving feedback on the execution of your goals and objectives. We can only hope that you will be open-minded in giving the WNSB feedback on how we are treating this area of evaluation.

We do not see this as a requirement for daily lesson plans, unless that is what you are most comfortable with; rather, it is a request for your conceived ideas on how you will attempt to facilitate academic, social and personal growth in yourself and others around you. We expect these ideas to change with time and experience and hopefully your goals and objectives will be updated as these changes occur.

Thoughts and Reflections on "Shared Responsibility"

No person can become fully responsible for hundreds of children in a school building or for the activities that occur within that building. We are committed to team-work in helping children make a better life for themselves. We will be looking at different models of team-teaching to determine the best organization for growth within people. Perhaps team-teaching is not the model we will eventually use, but we need to find how we can work the most effectively together. We are also trying some vertical grouping of students i.e., mixture of age levels on a random basis, believing that this will enhance learning for everyone. This will create frustration for some people. Regardless of our disagreements on how this is best accomplished (and there will be considerable disagreements), we have a commitment to share this responsibility for all children within the community which we serve. Many parents and teachers see this responsibility manifested in overt types of behavior such as listed under these specific criteria i.e., attendance, taking care of materials, involvement, etc.

There should be no expectancy for anyone to be involved in all aspects of the total school operation. However, there will be an expectancy for everyone to be involved in parts of that operation. Non-involvement will be

interpreted as lack of interest and you may be given this feedback during evaluative sessions. It then becomes your responsibility to interpret what noninvolvement means to you and how you justify it.

Thoughts and Reflections on "Shared Control"

There is much discussion within educational circles today as to the merit of shared community-control that ranges across a broad continuum. There are those who believe that any program which has a good chance for success must incorporate "ownership" by local residents. Ownership of programs depends upon people working together and possessing full information upon which decisions can be made. Once they have the information, they will make decisions that are best for them. The opposite point of view revolves around the position that individuals who have received training and education know what is best for school communities and people who possess less training and education (parents, children, and para-professionals) must defer to the "experts".

This document does not intend to debate the merits of either position, but merely to point to the fact that the Washington community has progressed along the route of shared community-control of its school. This would probably be a position somewhere between the two extremes stated above, but closer to the first viewpoint. (We are in the process of writing another paper describing the functions of the WNSB. The WNSB Constitution and By-Laws are available upon request.) We are faced with measuring acceptance and support of this concept. Evidence of such acceptance and support could be seen in attending WNSB meetings sometimes, visiting homes in the community, talking with parents, supporting decisions made by the WNSB (perhaps some you disagree with), working with adult education, inviting parents into the building, using parents as volunteers, providing helpful information to the WNSB on yourself and events that happen, etc.

These are criteria that will be difficult to measure, but as in the case of so much of this evaluative process, it becomes an attitude shown, feelings that are expressed, acts that are perceived, and situational circumstances that become "grist for the mill" in feedback sessions.

Procedural Steps for Evaluation

In addition to general statements speaking to criteria for evaluation, people need to know the procedure that will occur step by step. We see this operating as follows:

1. Many WNSB members will be in and around the building during school hours and will be impressed by or discouraged with certain things they see and hear. These impressions must be dealt with or be brought into the open in some legitimate manner. (See #3)
2. Each team will be visited by two designated members of the WNSB before the end of October 1973. They will visit preferably in the mornings and obtain impressions by looking, listening, and talking with teachers, aides, students, etc.
3. Feedback sessions will be provided by the WNSB to team members including all impressions (those in #1 and #2 along with comments from the nonteaching personnel such as the principal, counselor, supervisors, etc.) with comments and suggestions recorded in "executive" minutes.
4. Two different members of the WNSB will be designated to visit each team before the end of January. The same dialogue provided in #3 will be followed again.

5. If discrepancies or contradictions to our evaluation criteria are found to exist in either of the first two visitations, then a third visit may be requested or required following the procedure as outlined above.
6. Final evaluations in the Spring, 1974, going to the Central Office will be based upon the feedback sessions that teachers and the WNSB have been involved in all year. All parties will receive a copy of the final evaluation.

We have outlined the procedural steps that will be taken sequentially at the risk of words sounding very cold and impersonal. One might get the impression that members of the WNSB could become spies and highly critical, and it might happen that way. The actual intent of these evaluations is the opposite in nature. They are designed for parents, students, teachers, aides and others to work together supporting, improving, and growing toward a deeper appreciation of what is happening to children. Open-honest communications should be occurring at spontaneous and regular times during the year. Feedback is expected to be both positive and negative, confrontative and supportive, given and taken by teachers and WNSB members.

We believe that this in essence removes total evaluation from one person (THE Principal) and places it in the hands of several - but especially in the hands of our clients who have the most investment and interest in education at Washington.

Consultant Recommendations

In the previously mentioned consultant's report, "A Year End Assessment Report To Washington Elementary School," June 8, 1973, Dr. Perkins made the following recommendations:

"...in an attempt to facilitate the further positive development of quality education at Washington, a few recommendations will be offered. They are as follows: (1) faculty members

individually and in teams should continue to explore ways of communicating more effectively with each other in areas of conflict (i.e., the function of a teacher, instructional approaches, essential skills really 'needed' by students, etc.), (2) faculty members who are not familiar with the norms and values of children and parents in the Washington school community should be exposed to and become familiar with those norms and values through more active participation in community events, (3) more attention should be given to developing instructional approaches which recognize the actual experience base of children and which builds upon that reality, (4) more psychological and emotional support may need to be provided to some teachers in the form of individual or group counseling as a means of helping them acquire the skills needed to be more effective in working with and accepting Washington children and staff colleagues, (5) the mini-board should continue its efforts to secure the best possible staff members available, consistent with the goals and aims of Washington School, and (6) closer coordination should be developed in providing sequential learning experiences for students where student motivation and teacher interest makes this possible."

It appears that we have responded in this paper to most of the recommendations. The implementation of these ideas is now the responsibility of all who live and work in the Washington community.

(Lee Dole) shared a few comments that he had written that day and most of the group felt that it reflected much of their feelings also. Permission was granted for us to share it with you.

"The primary concern of education should be to facilitate growth; to make people more effective and flexible in dealing with their life-situations. In a community controlled school, like Washington, the chief clientele served are the students. This is not the only clientele, however. The parents, brothers and sisters, staff; in fact the total community's growth should be stimulated by the functioning of the school.

Growth is best facilitated through an interpersonal relationship between people. Growth requires a commitment to provide honest unmanipulative feedback by both people in the relationship.

The degree or amount of commitment to facilitate growth begins to discriminate the person we want to work at Washington. Most people having suffered through teacher certification requirements have demonstrated some desire to be a facilitator of growth, especially with students. We want more. We want people who can provide a climate for change around all people. We want people who can listen, who have empathy, who have non-possessive warmth, and who maintain a certain degree of unconditional positive regard for all people of all ages, sex, race and economic levels. All people should continually be asking themselves, "What am I doing for this community for which I work?"

We expect a commitment to facilitate growth in the classrooms - wherever you define those perimeters. We expect a commitment to facilitate growth in parents, peers, staff and certainly not least within yourself. We expect you to view Washington as a center of learning and growth for academic, social and personal growth to all people in the community.

People differ in talents and interest and will be more involved in certain areas than others. We grant this flexibility. We do not grant noninvolvement or non-commitment to all or any segment of our clientele. We don't feel "just anybody" can work here. So be yourself, be genuine, be honest and self-actualizing. Make your choices and deal with their consequences. If we grow together, we will stay together. If we grow apart, we will separate."

APPENDIX F: NIE PROJECT OFFICER RESPONSE TO
BROWN'S ANALYSIS OF NIE FUNDING

The NIE project officer for this site, after reading the first draft of this case study, addressed the issue of NIE's motivation in funding the IEC project in a memo to the author.

Here was perhaps the only internal organization development department in any school district in the country, a school board willing to delegate authority to neighborhood school boards, a fascinating elementary school and community which had taken advantage of the opportunity created by the central board, a sharply contrasting junior high with a young principal interested in developing a collaborative climate and structures, a superintendent with a rich history of experience in attempting to bring about change, a project which promised to intervene in all of this, and an opportunity to study it up close over an extended period of time. Rather than mining this richness, the study concentrates on the fact that the intervention was not carefully conceived on the basis of learning theorists' notions about behavioral change and therefore failed.